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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Principal Tranſactions

OF THE

LAST WAR

BETWEEN THE

Engliſh and *French* in *North America*.

FROM THE

Commencement of it in 1744, to the Concluſion of the Treaty at *Aix la Chapelle*.

Containing in Particular

An ACCOUNT of the Importance of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadie* and the Iſland of Cape *Breton* to both Nations.

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To His GRACE the

Duke of NEWCASTLE,

First LORD COMMISSIONER of His MAJESTY's TREASURY,

KNIGHT of the Moſt Noble Order of the GARTER, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

THE Events, which are the Subject of theſe Memoirs, had their Riſe in *North America*, when your Grace's particular Department,

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partment, as one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, put the Affairs of that *Continent* under your Grace's more immediate Direction: And those, who are acquainted with the first Springs and Movements, which set these Expeditions on foot, and with the Character of the Person in *America*, who was chiefly instrumental in conducting them there, must be sensible, that the Success was wholly owing to the Influence of your Grace's Administration, and ought therefore to be reckoned among the other happy Effects of it.

These, my Lord, together with the Ambition, which the Author has of making

making his public Acknowledgments to your Grace for perſonal Obligations, are the Motives, which have induced him to take the Liberty of addreſſing the following Sheets to your Grace; and encourage him to hope, that they will be honoured with your Grace's Protection.

I am ſenſible, my Lord, that the Succeſs of the laſt War in *North America* was not equal to the great Idea formed in your Grace's Mind at that time for the Service of your King and Country.

Had your Grace's Plan tranſmitted to *New England* in 1746 for the Reduction

duction of *Canada* been carried into Execution that Year, as it would have been, if it had not been fruſtrated by unforeſeen, inevitable Accidents in *Europe*, againſt which it was not in the Power of Human Policy to provide; that would have crowned the War with the moſt important Conqueſt to the Intereſts of *Great Britain*, that was ever made upon the Continent of *America*.

But, my Lord, ſhort as the Events of the War fell of your Grace's Scheme; yet the Conſequences were, not only the Preſervation of *Great Britain*'s moſt eſſential Territory in *North America* for ſecuring to her the Poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of all her other Colonies there (at a time when the Enemy had reduced it to ſuch Extremities, that its Fate ſeemed to depend upon as ſlender a Thread, as it could poſſibly do; but an Acquiſition to his Majeſty's Dominions, which, in all Appearance, accelerated the Extinction of a moſt expenſive War to *Great Britain*, and laid the Foundation for reſtoring at that time the public Tranquillity of *Europe*.

May your Grace's unwearied Counſels for the Nation's Welfare be conſtantly attended with Succeſs, equal to the Patriot Views, with which they are formed; and your King and Country

Country long reap the ſalutary Fruits of them.

I have the Honour to be with the higheſt Reſpect,

My LORD,

Your GRACE's

moſt obliged, and

moſt devoted Servant.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Principal Tranſactions of the *Laſt War* between the *Engliſh* and *French* in *North America*.

THE two firſt Objects of the War in *North America* were *Nova Scotia* or *Acadie*, and the Iſland of of Cape *Breton*: againſt the former of theſe the *French*, ſoon after the Declaration of War in *Europe*, made three Attempts; in the firſt of which they ſurprized the Iſland of *Canſo*, burnt its Forts and other Buildings, deſtroyed the Fiſhery there, and carried the Garriſon Priſoners to *Louisbourg*; and in the two laſt reduced *Annapolis Royal*, the principal Fort and ancient Metropolis of the Province, to great Extremities: In the Year following the Colonies of *New England* proſecuted an Expedition againſt Cape *Breton*; in which they took it, and brought the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *St.*

John's, ſituate in the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, to make their Submiſſion upon the ſame Terms with thoſe granted to *Louisbourg*, and to give Hoſtages for delivering Poſſeſſion of the Iſland to the *Engliſh*.

As an Account of the Importance of the two firſt-mentioned Places to both Nations will throw Light upon the ſeveral Operations and Incidents of the War, it will be proper here briefly to ſtate it.

Nova Scotia is the Key of the Eaſtern Colonies upon the Continent of *North America*; it has about ninety Leagues of Sea Coaſt upon the *Atlantic* Ocean extending from Cape *Canſo* Eaſtward, which lies at the Entrance into the Gut or Streights of that Name (through which there is a Paſſage into the Gulf of *St. Lawrence)* to Cape *Sables* Weſtward, which forms one Point of the Entrance into the Bay of *Funda:* This Coaſt abounds with moſt commodious Harbours for capital Ships of War, and Banks of the beſt Cod-Fiſh in *North America*; and is very advantageouſly ſituated for commanding the Navigation of that Part of the Ocean: Its Eaſtern Side forms Part of the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, along which it lies extended about 110 Leagues from the Gut of *Canſo*, at its Entrance into the Gulf, to Cape *Rozier*, which forms the South Point of the Mouth of the River *St. Lawrence*, through which the whole Country of *Canada* receives all its Supplies and Supports from *France:* This Coaſt alſo has ſeveral good Fiſheries and Harbours,

Harbours, particularly the Bay of *Gaſpe*, Bay *des Chaleurs*, and Bay *Verte*, the latter whereof is ſeparated by a narrow Iſthmus, about 18 Miles long, from the Bay of *Funda*, which is about 50 Leagues deep, and comprehended within the Province: In this Bay are the three Baſons of *Annapolis*, *Minas* or *Les Mines*, and *Chicgnecto*; the Coaſts whereof and Banks of the adjacent Rivers abound with Salt Marſhes, which by the Force of a rich Soil, conſtantly recruited with marine Salts, and ſo, not to be impoveriſhed by conſtant Tillage, produce large Crops of *Engliſh* Grain, with little Labour to the Huſbandman; and among other Rivers, which fall into it, lies that of *St. John's*, through which the City of *Quebec* has a Communication with the Bay, and acroſs the Head of that, through the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, with *Louisbourg*: The North Side of the Province is bounded by the Southern Bank of the River *St. Lawrence*, along which it is extended from Cape *Rozier* to *Le Bik*, about 80 Leagues; and the Weſtern Side by the River *Pentagoet*, or *Penobſcot*, which ſeparates it from *New England*: Its inland Parts afford a Plenty of Paſturage, with all Kinds of Roots, produces good Oak Timber for Ship Building, and white Pine Maſts, and has a large Store of Mines in the Diſtrict of *Minas* or *Les Mines*, which derives its Name from them.

Thus ſituated, it is evident, that *Nova Scotia*, when in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, muſt be a

Barrier to the *Britiſh* Colonies in *North America*; and by the Command, itgives them of the Navigation of the Gulf of *St Lawrence* and Bay of *Funda*, puts it into their Power to cut off the Communication between *France* and *Canada*, through the River of *St. Lawrence*, which empties itſelf into the former, and *St. John's*, that falls into the latter; which leaves the *French* no Entrance into it, except by the *Miſſiſippi*; the Paſſage through which, the River *Ohio* and the great Lakes and Rivers beyond it, to *Montreal*, is a moſt difficult Navigation of 2000 Miles, for the greateſt Part againſt the Stream, and incumber'd with Falls, ſo that it is impracticable for *France* to give her Colonies in *Canada* an effectual Support through this *Route*; and conſequently in ſuch Caſe ſhe muſt hold them at the Will of *Great Britain*.

On the other hand, whilſt *Nova Scotia* is in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, it puts it into their Power, by the Command it gives them of the Navigation to and from the *Britiſh* Northern Colonies, particularly thoſe of *New England*, to harraſs and diſtreſs them exceedingly; and by its near Situation to the Eaſtern Parts of the *Maſſachuſets* Bay, and the Province of *New Hampſhire*, to deprive *Great Britain* of the Naval Stores, which are now drawn from the King's Woods there for maſting the Royal Navy: And whereas the cold Climate and unfruitful Soil of *Canada* and Cape *Breton* yield only a bare Suſtenance for their preſent Inhabitants,

bitants, and make thoſe Colonies incapable of ſupporting a large Number of Troops; in which Circumſtance conſiſts very much the Security of the *Britiſh* Colonies againſt the Incroachments of *France*; if *France* was augmented with the Province of *Nova Scotia*, which is fertile of every Species of Proviſions, ſhe would then be able to maintain in *North America* a numerous ſtanding Army.

The *New England* Colonies, in every Period of this Province's Subjection to the *French*, continually felt moſt pernicious Effects from it, in Depredations upon their Trade, and Incurſions into their Territories; ſo that in 1654 *Oliver Cromwell*, for their Protection, was obliged to ſeize on all its Forts, and diſpoſſeſs the *French* of the whole Country: After the Reſtitution of it to them by the Treaty of *Breda*, *New England* again experienced the ſame miſchievous Conſequences from their Poſſeſſion of it, which always threatened Deſtruction to her Colonies: And not to mention the intermediate Expeditions form'd againſt it from thoſe Governments, and the alternate Change of Poſſeſſion, it has undergone; when *France* was ſunk to its loweſt Ebb of Power in *Europe*, by a long Series of adverſe Campaigns, during Queen *Anne*'s Reign, yet even then the *New England* Governments were ſo diſtreſſed by this Province's remaining in the Hands of the *French* (though the Number of its Inhabitants did not exceed 4000), that they twice addreſſed the Crown in the ſtrongeſt Terms to

fit

fit out an Armament from *England* for the Reconqueſt of it ; in conſequence of which an Expedition was formed againſt it, under the Command of General *Nicholſon*, who took it : And the Negociations at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, by which it was ceded to *Great Britain*, will ſhew with what extreme Reluctance *France* made the Ceſſion ; and that nothing but the feeble State, ſhe was then in, could have reduced her to ſubmit to it.

By the Ceſſion of this Province, and *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, to the *Engliſh*, the *French* were left without any Harbour or Sea Coaſt in that Part of the *Atlantic* Ocean ; in Conſideration of which the Iſland of Cape *Breton*, which lay within the ancient Limits of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadie*, but was excepted by the Treaty of *Utrecht* out of the Ceſſion, was yielded to *France*.

This Iſland, or rather Collection of Iſlands, called by the *French Les Iſles de Madame*, which lie ſo contiguous, that they are commonly ſuppoſed to be but one, and comprehended under the Name of the Iſland of Cape *Breton*, or *L'Iſle Royale*, has a Sea Coaſt upon the *Atlantic* Ocean extending from the Gut of *Canſo*, the Eaſtern Boundary of *Nova Scotia*, about 34 Leagues E. N. E. to the Entrance into the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, between the Eaſtermoſt Part of the Iſland, and the Weſt of *Newfoundland*, from which it is about 17½ Leagues diſtant : Its Weſtern Side forms Part of the Gulf ; and the Importance of it to

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the *French* may be eſtimated from the Advantages which they have reaped from it ſince it has been in their Poſſeſſion.

Altho' the Harbour of *Louisbourg* is not a very good one for Shipping, and the Iſland is barren; and but a ſmall Number of Ships fiſh there, in Compariſon of thoſe which are employed in the *French* Fiſheries on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, and the neighbouring Shores, Bays, Harbours, *&c.* yet the Situation of it is ſuch, that all their fiſhing Veſſels can repair thither on any Danger or Emergency; eſpecially thoſe which fiſh in the Gulf, on the *Main*, or at the Northweſt of *Newfoundland*, none of which are above one or two Days Sail, at moſt, from *Louisbourg*; as may alſo thoſe Veſſels which load with Mud-Fiſh on the Banks; ſo that this Iſland is the Center and Protection of their whole Fiſhery: And of what Value that has been to them will appear by the following Computation taken of it from Perſons intimately acquainted with every Branch of it, according to the State, in which it was carried on, the Year before the War.

According to this Computation the Quantity of their Fiſh caught that Year was 1,149,000 Quintals of dry Fiſh, and 3,900,000 Mud-Fiſh; the Value of both which, including 3,116¼ Ton of Train Oil drawn from the Blubber, amounts to 926,577*l.* 10*s.* according to the prime Coſt of the Fiſh at *Newfoundland*; and with the Addition of its Freight to the

the ſeveral Markets, where it is ſold, makes 949,192 *l.* 10*s.* Sterling; and, if to this is added the Conſumption, which is made of their coarſe Woollens by the Men employed in the Fiſhery, reckoning for each a Blanket, Watch Coat, Rug, Pea Jacket, *&c.* in the Whole 30*s.* *per* Man, as alſo the Brandy they conſume, together with the Canvas, Cordage, Nets, Hooks, Grapplins, Anchors, *&c.* that the Ships and Shallops of this Fiſhery muſt expend at Sea and on Shore, the Value of it will amount at leaſt to one Million Sterling *per Annum*, at which it is generally computed.

But in order to form a juſt Eſtimate of the Value of this Branch of Trade to the *French*, the Conſideration of its beneficial Conſequences ſhould be taken in; theſe conſiſt principally in the following Articles:

1ſt, The Train Oil produced by it is neceſſary to the *French* in their Woollen Manufactory; in which they have already rival'd us with too much Succeſs; and their Sugar Colonies abroad, which cannot do without it, are ſupplied with it from *France* out of this Fiſhery.

2dly, The Trade, it opens for them into the *Mediterranean*, and all the *Roman* Catholick States, where they carry their Fiſh to Market, and by the Means of it force a Vent for other *French* Manufactures; which has been found ſo beneficial to their commercial Intereſt, that they have been indefatigable in the Cultivation of it, ſparing no Pains nor Coſt, and uſing every

every Art to monopolize it; for which Purpoſe, from the Beginning they have uſed their utmoſt Endeavours in time of War between the two Nations, to procure a Neutrality in *North America*, ſo far as relates to the Fiſhery there; that they might even then carry it on, and proſecute their Voyages unmoleſted.

3dly, The great Increaſe of their Navigation and Seamen ariſing from this Fiſhery; in which 564 Ships, beſides Shallops, and 27,500 Seamen are employed; Circumſtances, eſpeally the latter, which conſidered with regard to their maritime Force, are of themſelves as valuable to *France* as the Revenue of the Fiſhery itſelf: Well therefore might Pere *Charlevoix* in his Hiſtory of *New France* obſerve, "That "this Fiſhery was a more valuable Source of "Wealth and Power to *France*, than even the "Mines of *Peru* or *Mexico* would be."

And this great Branch of Trade may be ſaid to depend upon their Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of Cape *Breton*, as it is impoſſible for them to carry it on without ſome convenient Harbour of Strength to ſupply and protect it; and *Louisbourg* is the only one, they have in this Part of the *Atlantic* Ocean.

Beſides the Fiſhery, there are likewiſe other Advantages which ariſe to the *French* from their Poſſeſſion of this Iſland; *France* has not one Sea Port for the Relief and Shelter of her trading Ships either to, or from the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies* open to them any where in *North America*, to the Northward of the River *Miſſiſippi*, except *Louiſbourg*; and of conſequence,

 that

that whole Trade would be expos'd to the *Engliſh* Privateers from the Northern Colonies in time of War, without any Place to retreat to; and in time of Peace, they would be without any Sea Port, they can call their own, or lay any Pretenſions to in thoſe Seas; but *Louiſbourg* ſerves them as an Harbour for their Ships employed in this Trade to reſort to for Wood and Water, to clean or repair, for Convoy from thence to *Old France*, and on occaſion of any Diſtreſs; as it likewiſe does to their Veſſels to and from *Canada*, by having the Cover and Command of great part of the Gulf of St. *Lawrence*; without which Protection and Retreat their Trade from thence, and even the Country itſelf, would not be worth the Expence, which *France* is at for the Maintenance of them.

To all this muſt be added, that the Poſſeſſion of this Iſland puts it into their Power to annoy the Trade of the *Britiſh* Northern Colonies in time of War with their Privateers from this Harbour, to ſo great a Degree, that it has ever been called by the *Engliſh*, the *Dunquerque* of *North America*.

From the foregoing Enumeration of the Advantages accruing to the *French* from *their* Poſſeſſion of this Iſland, it is obvious of what Importance the Poſſeſſion of it would be to the *Engliſh*.——The *Engliſh*, when the *French* are intirely excluded from the Cod Fiſhery; which they muſt be, when they loſe Cape *Breton*, and are not allowed any Privilege at

New-

Newfoundland, would have the whole Benefit of it to themſelves; in which Caſe all the *Roman* Catholick States muſt then depend on the *Engliſh* ſolely for their Baccalio; which, beſides the Profits ariſing immediately from it, would give them almoſt the whole Trade of the *Mediterranean*, with an Increaſe of 27,000 Seamen for the Royal Navy, and put it abſolutely in their Power to cut off all Communication between *France* and *Canada*, except through the *Miſſiſippi* (as is before obſerved) and thereby not only render *Canada* of little or no Utility to the *French*, but deprive it of all effectual Support from *France*, againſt any Attempts of the *Engliſh* for the Reduction of it.

From the State of theſe two Colonies it is clear, what the Difference would have been to *Great Britain* in the Courſe of this War, if inſtead of the Preſervation of *Nova Scotia* and Reduction of Cape *Breton*, *ſhe* had loſt the former to the *French*, and *they* had kept Poſſeſſion of the latter: In that Caſe, *France* by gaining the principal Key of the Northern Colonies, extending her Sea Coaſt 90 Leagues further upon the *Atlantic*, and augmenting her Territories in *Canada*, and the Iſland of Cape *Breton* with ſo large a Proviſion Country as *Nova Scotia*, lying contiguous to both of them, would have had it in her Power to introduce and ſupport a Body of regular Troops there, which in Conjunction with the Militia of *Canada* and the *Indians* upon the Continent (every one of which, the Six Nations not ex-

cepted, would ſoon then have gone over to their Intereſt) would over-run the *Britiſh* Colonies, already ſurrounded with a Line of *French* Forts carried on upon the Back of them for that Purpoſe.

If ever *Great Britain* ſhould receive ſuch a Blow in her *American* Dominions, it would be in vain to hope to retrieve it by her ſuperior Naval Force; on the other hand, if it is conſidered, how much the Strength of the *French Marine* would be thereby increaſed, and that of the *Britiſh* diminiſhed, little doubt can be made, that the preſent Superiority of the Naval Force of *Great Britain* to that of *France* would ſurvive the Loſs of her Colonies but a few Years.

Upon the Ceſſion of *Nova Scotia* to *Great Britain* at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, it was garriſoned with nine Companies of the late Lieutenant General *Phillips*'s Regiment of 31 privates each, five of which were poſted at *Annapolis Royal* and four at *Canſo*.

As to the *French* Inhabitants (whom for Diſtinction-ſake I ſhall call *Acadians)* which were found in the Province at the Reduction of it, they were by the Treaty allowed their Option either to retire with their moveable Effects to any other Place within a Year, or to remain there and be ſubject to the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, and to have the free Exerciſe of the Catholic Religion, as far as the Laws of *Great Britain* would allow.

Much the greateſt Part made their Election to remain in *Nova Scotia*, but could not be induced

duced to take the Oath of Allegiance, pleading in Excuſe, that if they bound themſelves to take up Arms in defence of the *Engliſh* Government, they ſhould be expoſed to be made a Sacrifice to the Ravages of the *Indians* in the *French* Intereſt: Upon this Plea General *Phillips*, then Governor of the Province, permitted them to ſtay there for ſome Years without giving this Teſt of their Allegiance; but at length, to bring them to comply, he indulged them, (though without being authoriz'd, as appears, by the Crown,) with an Exemption from bearing Arms upon any Occaſion whatever; they were likewiſe not only allowed the public Profeſſion of the *Romiſh* Religion, but ſuffered to be ſupplied with *French* Miſſionaries from *Canada*, who under the Biſhop of *Quebec* exerciſed Rule over them in ſecular as well as ſpiritual Matters, enforcing an Obedience to their Deciſions and Mandates by the Infliction of Eccleſiaſtical Penalties; whilſt the only, or at leaſt principal Act of Government exerciſed by the *Engliſh* Governor among them ſeems to have been, the Appointment, or rather Allowance from time to time, of Deputies choſen by and among themſelves for their ſeveral Diſtricts; and even thoſe frequently behaved in the Execution of their Office, as if they thought themſelves ſcarcely accountable to the *Engliſh* Government for the Exerciſe of that Authority.

By this means, though theſe Inhabitants became *Engliſh* Subjects by Virtue of the Treaty and

and their Oath of Allegiance; yet the *French* Governor in *Canada* preſerved the chief Influence and Command over them, and cultivated in them their former hereditary Attachment to the *French* King; ſo that they continued a diſtinct Body of *French Roman* Catholics, exempted by the *Engliſh* Government from bearing Arms in Defence of it; and kept by their Prieſts ſo unmixed with and ſeparate from the *Engliſh*, that but two *Engliſh* Families could ſettle among them, tho' ſeveral had attempted it; the Conſequence of all which was, that the Increaſe of theſe *Acadians*, inſtead of ſtrengthening the King's Government, as they naturally ought to have done, became dangerous to it; and by remaining in the Province were of much greater Service to *France*, than if they had removed into the *French* Government immediately after the Treaty of *Utrecht*, as they were a growing Stock in *Nova Scotia* for ſettling it with *French* Inhabitants, even whilſt it was in the Hands of the *Engliſh*; and at the ſame time contributed to the Growth of Cape *Breton* by ſupplying it with Proviſions; whereas by removing into *Canada*, they would have been rather burdenſome to it by occaſioning (for ſome Years at leaſt) a Scarcity of Proviſions among the Inhabitants there.

In the mean time the Iſland of Cape *Breton*, which it appears from the Negotiations of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, *France* had it much at Heart to obtain the excluſive Poſſeſſion of, was immediately begun to be fortified and ſettled with

French

French Inhabitants, in doing which no Coſts or Pains was ſpared: A new Colony was ſet on foot to conſiſt of Fiſhermen only with ſuitable Encouragement; the Town of *Louiſbourg* was built and garriſoned; the Harbour made at an immenſe Charge almoſt impregnable; and the Place became ſo national an Object, that it was valued by *France* equal to any one other of her Colonies; and the Fiſhery flouriſhed ſo faſt, that they could ſoon afford to underſell the *Engliſh* at foreign Markets: for the Protection of this Trade, Ships of War were annually ſent from *France*, to viſit and ſupply the Settlers and Fiſhery with what they wanted, and had Orders not only to protect and defend the Sea Coaſts of this Iſland and the Gulf of St. *Lawrence*, and their Veſſels upon the Banks of *Newfoundland*, &c. from Inſults, but to keep up their Pretenſions to the ſeveral Banks either *within* or *without* their Line, and *make* to themſelves a Privilege of Fiſhing where they pleaſed, by force of Cuſtom: And ſo early were theſe Encroachments on the *Engliſh* at *Canſo*, and upon the fiſhing Banks along the Sea Coaſt of *Nova Scotia* (from which *France* was wholly excluded by an expreſs Article in the Treaty of *Utrecht*) that it was found neceſſary to have one of the King's Ships ſent every Year from *England*, and ſtation'd at *Canſo* to guard againſt them: And to ſuch a Pitch had the *French* advanced the Trade, Shipping and Settlements of this Iſland by the Year 1744, that upon the breaking out of the War, Mr.

Duqueſnel

Duquesnel then Governor of the Colony, within three Days after the Declaration of it arrived from *France*, fitted out an Armament under the Command of Mr. *Duvivier* from *Louisbourg* (being favoured therein by the casual Absence of the *Canso* Station Ship, omitted to be sent that Year, as was likewise the usual Station Ship to *Boston)* which entering the Harbour of *Canso* about 20 Leagues distant by Night, surprized the Fort, burnt it with the other Buildings there, destroyed the Fishery (as is before observed) and carried the Garrison, which consisted of about 80 private Men fit for Duty, to *Louisbourg*; where, by the Terms of their Capitulation they were to remain Prisoners of War for one Year from the 24th of *May* 1744, at the End of which they were to be sent by the *French* Governor, either to *Annapolis Royal* or to *New England*.

Among the Artifices practised by the *French* of *Canada*, for paving their Way to regain the Possession of *Nova Scotia*, and seize the first favourable Opportunity for that Purpose; the following may serve as a remarkable Specimen: A short time before the Declaration of War, and when the Colonies were in full Expectation of it, the *French* procured the *Indians* of St. *John*'s River to send a Deputation of their principal Men to the Commander in Chief of *Annapolis Royal*, on pretence of renewing the Covenant of Peace and Amity with his Government (which was accordingly done with

with the uſual *Indian* Formalities) but in reality to lull the Governor into a falſe Security with reſpect to the *Indians*, and at the ſame time gain Admittance into the Fort, in order to diſcover the State of it, and hold themſelves in readineſs to attack it, upon the firſt Summons; which they did, and together with the other *Indians* of their River compoſed Part of the Body, which inveſted the Fort under the Command of *Le Loutre*.

The firſt Notice, the *Engliſh* had of *Canſo*'s being taken and burnt, was brought to *Boſton* by a Fiſherman, who had deſcried, as he was fiſhing upon a Bank oppoſite the Iſland, a Cloud of Smoke riſing from ſome Ruins; and at the ſame time miſſed the Sight of the Block-houſe and other Buildings there, which uſed to be ſeen off at Sea from the Bank, he was upon; and this was in a Day or two confirmed by another *Maſſachuſets* Fiſherman, who, after being chaced by a *French* Veſſel, went on Shore upon the Iſland, where he found all the Buildings in Ruins, and that the Garriſon, Inhabitants and Cattle were removed off.

This Intelligence left the Governor and Council of the Province of *Maſſachuſets Bay* no room to doubt from what Quarter the ſudden Blow muſt come, and that the War, which before was expected to break out ſoon between *Great Britain* and *France*, had been proclaimed in *Europe*.

For this Succeſs *Te Deum* was ſung at *Paris*, and public Rejoicings made, and a pompous

Account of it was publiſhed in the *French* Papers; which, as the Conqueſt conſidered in itſelf appeared but ſmall, was imputed to a Vanity of magnifying the ſlighteſt Actions to the World; but *France* eſtimated it from the Importance, which the Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Fiſhery, and the Reduction of the whole Province of *Nova Scotia* would be of to her; and looked upon her Succeſs againſt *Canſo* as a ſure Forerunner of the Reconqueſt of the one, and the utter Deſtruction of the other; both which they had in View to accompliſh; and that her Hopes were not without Foundation will appear from the State of the Province at this Juncture: The whole Defence of it, after the Reduction of *Canſo*, conſiſted in the Fort of *Annapolis Royal*, the Works of which were of Earth reveſted with Timber, but ſo ruinous in ſeveral Parts, that the Cattle could walk over them into the Fort; and the Garriſon had not above 80 Men fit for Service, the reſt being ſuperannuated, or Invalids.

The following Circumſtances increaſed the Alarm upon this Occaſion: A few Months before the Arrival of this Account, the * *Maſſachuſets Governor* had received Letters from the † Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of *Nova Scotia*, acquainting him, that his Majeſty's Fort at *Annapolis Royal* was in ſo defenceleſs a Condi-

* Governor *Shirley*.
† Lieutenant-Governor *Maſcarene*.

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tion, and the Garriſon ſo weak, that in caſe of a ſudden Rupture with *France*, they ſhould, without ſpeedy Aſſiſtance from *Boſton*, be in Danger of falling into the Enemy's Hands: It was alſo known that his Majeſty's Engineer for *Nova Scotia* had, in the preceding Winter, received Orders from the Board of Ordnance, to build a new Fort of Stone at *Annapolis Royal*, as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit, and that he was preparing to lay the Foundation of it; which would make the Garriſon leſs attentive to repair the Works of the old Fort.

This Account therefore of the Motions of the *French* gave juſt Grounds to dread their following the late Blow, they had given *Canſo*, with an immediate Attempt againſt the Fort of *Annapolis Royal*; the Reduction of which would have put them into the Poſſeſſion of the whole Country of *Nova Scotia*, with about 16,000 *French* Inhabitants, who were juſtly ſuſpected of a Diſpoſition to join with them againſt the *Engliſh*.

Wherefore to prevent the Garriſon at *Annapolis Royal* from being ſurprized by the Enemy, and to apprize Mr. *Maſcarene* of the Neceſſity of repairing the old Fort in the beſt manner, the runious State of its Works, and the ſhort time he had to do it in, would admit; the *Governor of the Maſſuchuſets Bay* diſpatched an armed Veſſel in the Service of the Province, to *Annapolis Royal*, with an Account of the Motions of the *French*, and a Promiſe to ſend the Garriſon a ſpeedy Reinforcement.

Upon this Emergency likewiſe he repreſented to the Aſſembly the imminent Danger, his Majeſty's Fort at *Annapolis Royal*, with the *whole* Province of *Nova Scotia*, was in; and preſſed them to enable him to ſend it immediate Succours; whereupon, with their uſual Readineſs to exert themſelves upon all Occaſions for his Majeſty's Service and the common Cauſe, they granted a Bounty and other Encouragements for four Companies of Volunteers of 60 private Men each to inliſt, together with three Months Proviſions, and the Coſts of their Tranſportation; but as the Charge of maintaining the Garriſons of that Province appertained to the Crown, they left the Pay for the Officers and Men to be provided for by the Governor; who accordingly proceeded to raiſe them with the utmoſt Expedition, upon the Faith of his Proclamation: but as the Urgency of the Service would not admit of ſtaying till the whole Complement could be raiſed, and the Fate of the Province was brought to a Criſis; as ſoon as 80 of them could be got ready to embark, which was within a few Days, he ſent them under Convoy of the *Maſſachuſets* Snow of 16 Carriage Guns to *Annapolis Royal*, where upon their Arrival they found the Fort had been inveſted eleven Days by a Body of about 700 *Indians* mix'd with a few *French* Inhabitants in *Indian* Diſguiſe, and the Prieſt *Le Loutre* at their Head: This Enemy, tho' without Artillery for making regular Breaches, yet as the Works were ruinous and aſſailable almoſt on every

every Side, attacked it without Intermiſſion, but chiefly in the Night; whereby the Garriſon was kept in continual Alarm in every Quarter, and both Officers and Men were ſo harraſſed and worn out by conſtant Fatigue of Duty and continual Watches, that they could not have held out many Days longer: And it was perhaps in ſome degree owing to the Barbarity of a ſavage Foe, and the Reproach which would have ariſen from the King's Fort's being given up, by a Garriſon of regular Troops, to an undiſciplined *Indian* Rout, with a Prieſt at their Head, together with the daily Expectation of Succours from *Boſton*, that they held out in Defence of the Fort ſo long as they did.

Upon the Appearance of this Reinforcement in the Baſin of *Annapolis*, and the Snow's ſaluting the Fort with a Diſcharge of its Cannon, the *Indians* were thrown into ſuch Confuſion and Panic, that they not only made a precipitate Retreat, and gave the Troops an Opportunity of landing and marching into the Fort, without the leaſt Oppoſition, but ſoon after diſperſed, and could not be brought back to give the Garriſon any Moleſtation, till Mr. *Duvivier*'s Attempt againſt it two Months after.

This Relief gave the Garriſon time to breathe, and repair the Works of the Fort, and kept the *French* Inhabitants, who by this Viſit from *Boſton* were perſuaded that the Garriſon would be effectually ſupported, in ſuch reſpect,

reſpect, that upon the Departure of the *Indians* they renewed their Communication with it, and readily furniſhed whatever Materials and Workmen were wanted for ſtrengthening the Fort; and ſupplied the Garriſon with Refreſhments.

Soon after this the *Maſſachuſets Governor* ſent to *Annapolis Royal* a ſecond Party of 100 of the new raiſed Succours, with an armed Brigantine belonging to the Province; which Reinforcement put the Garriſon into a State of Security againſt an *Indian* Enemy, and the Fort by this time was ſo much ſtrengthened, that it was not to be reduced without a Train of Artillery.

The fourth Company was deſigned to be compoſed wholly of *Indians*, if poſſible, to be employed in ſcouting Parties through every Part of the Peninſula both by Land and Water, for which Service they were to be provided with two Row-Gallies, ſo that the raiſing and fitting this Company out took up more Time than the other three.

Whilſt theſe Operations were carrying on, Mr. *Duvivier*, who commanded the Armament upon the Deſcent againſt *Canſo*, was ſent by * Mr. *Duqueſnel*, immediately after his Return from that Expedition, upon another againſt *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*: This Attempt, in which he was diſappointed by contrary Winds, made a very happy Di-

* Governor of Cape *Breton*.

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verſion in favour of *Nova Scotia*; where it was apprehended he would have immediately proceeded upon the Reduction of *Canſo*; had he done that, he would have ſurprized the Fort and Garriſon at *Annapolis Royal* as he did that at *Canſo*; before they had got any Notice of the Declaration of War, or were in the leaſt appriſed of his coming.

It was indeed an Error in Mr. *Duqueſnel*'s Conduct, that he did not ſtrike his firſt Blow at *Annapolis Royal*; his Forces, in conjunction with *Le Loutre*'s *Indians*, muſt at that time have ſecured the Conqueſt of it, before any other of the *Engliſh* Colonies, or even the Garriſon at *Canſo* could have gained Intelligence of the Attempt; this would have put him in Poſſeſſion of the whole Province, except *Canſo*, with 4 or 5000 fighting Men ready to join him; and the Reduction of *Canſo* after that could not have been a matter of the leaſt Difficulty: his Omiſſion to avail himſelf of ſo favourable an Opportunity for making an Acquiſition of this important Province at one Stroke, ſeems to have proceeded from his too eagerly graſping at *Placentia*, and the Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Fiſhery at *Newfoundland*, almoſt at the ſame Inſtant; but to whatſoever Cauſe it was owing, it was certainly the Preſervation of *Nova Scotia* by giving an Opportunity for relieving it with Succours from *Boſton*.

Upon Mr. *Duvivier*'s Return from the Expedition againſt *Placentia*, which was towards the latter End of *Auguſt*, Mr. *Duqueſnel* loſt

loſt no Time for forming an Attempt againſt *Annapolis Royal*; and for that Purpoſe diſpatched Mr. *Duvivier* with ſome Troops from *Louisbourg* to *Beau Baſin*; there he landed, and being joined by the *Indians*, who waited his Arrival at *Minas*, proceeded with a Body of about 700 Men to *Annapolis Royal*, and inveſted the Fort, in Expectation of being ſoon followed up the Bay of *Funda* by three *French* Men of War of 70, 56 and 30 Guns, with 280 more Land Forces, and a large Train of Artillery and Ordnance Stores, that Mr. *Duqueſnel* then depended upon ſending him out of the Squadron, which at that time lay in *Louisbourg* Harbour, and was deſtined to convoy the *Weſt India* Fleet in their Return to *France*: Theſe did not follow him; if they had, it would have enabled him to form a regular Siege by Land and Water againſt the Fort, and in all Probability to have carried it: However Mr. *Duvivier*, by aſſuring Mr. *Maſcarene* in a Letter, that the *French* Ships were already got to the Mouth of the Bay, and that though he ſhould fail of this expected Reinforcement, he was determined to ſpend the Winter in the Siege, ſo far ſucceeded, as to bring Mr. *Maſcarene* to treat with him about a Surrender of the Fort, in caſe of the Arrival of thoſe Ships, with the Land Forces and Ordnance Stores which he aſſured him, they had on board; but this Treaty breaking off upon Mr. *Duvivier*'s inſiſting at laſt, that the Fort ſhould be *immediately*

ately put into his Hands upon his Promiſe to redeliver Poſſeſſion of it, if the expected Armament did not arrive by a *Time* limited ; and the Garriſon moſt opportunely receiving a further Reinforcement by the Company of *Indian* Rangers about the ſame time from the Governor of the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, the *French* Commandant deſpairing of the Arrival of the Veſſels with the Troops, Artillery and Stores, decamped and retired to *Minas*, with an Intent (as it was then apprehended) to winter there, and work upon the Inhabitants to join with him in an Attempt againſt the Garriſon early in the Spring ; of their readineſs to do which, their Behaviour ever ſince the time of his having entered *Minas*, they had given great Reaſon to ſuſpect them.

To prevent this by diſlodging Mr. *Duvivier* and his Party from their Winter Quarters, and guard the Baſin of *Annapolis Royal* againſt an Attempt by Sea with any ſmall Veſſels of War, which might be fitted out from *Louiſbourg*, the *Governor of the Maſſachuſets Bay* (who was then unacquainted with the Arrival of the *French* Squadron there) determined to ſend to *Annapolis Royal*, though it was very late in the Year, an armed Snow, Brigantine and Sloop belonging to the Province, with Orders to take in ſome ſmall Cannon and Mortars, with ſuch a Detachment of Soldiers from the Garriſon, as Mr. *Maſcarene* could ſpare, and proceed to *Minas*, in order to land them with a Party of Seamen and drive Mr. *Duvivier* from

thence ; and in the mean time acquainted Mr. *Maſcarene* with this Deſign.

Whilſt theſe Preparations were making at *Boſton* in the latter End of *October*, the *Governor* had Intelligence brought him by a Fiſherman from the Iſle of *Seals*, that he had ſeen forty Hours before three *French* Veſſels ſtanding up the Bay of *Funda* ; theſe were found afterwards to be a Banker of about 400 Ton with a Brigantine and Sloop, which Mr. *Duqueſnel* upon being diſappointed of Aſſiſtance from the Men of War had fitted out from *Louisbourg* in a warlike Manner, and order'd to proceed up the Bay of *Funda* with Ordnance Stores for attacking the Fort at *Annapolis Royal* by Sea, whilſt Mr. *Duvivier*, whom he ſuppoſed they would find before the Fort, attacked it by Land ; whereupon the *Governor of the Maſſachuſets Bay* diſpatched, the Day following, a Schooner to Mr. *Maſcarene* with Advice of the Deſigns of the *French*, and Aſſurances that he would ſend the three armed Veſſels before-mentioned, all well appointed, in four Days to his Aſſiſtance.

The *French* Veſſels accordingly arrived at the Narrows below the Baſin of *Annapolis*, where they came to an Anchot till they could get Information whether Mr. *Duvivier* was ſtill before the Fort : Two Days after, the *Engliſh* Schooner, which carried the Diſpatches for Mr. *Maſcarene*, incautiouſly fell in among them in the Night time ; and the Maſter in his Surprize ſuffered the Governor's Diſpatches to

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fall into the Enemy's Hands; the Effect of this was, that the *French* Commodore finding Mr. *Duvivier* had retired from before the Fort, and that a Naval Force was coming after him from *Boſton*, cut his Cable and immediately quitted the Bay, and by that means eſcaped the *Maſſachuſets Veſſels*, which entered the Bay ſoon after he had got out of it.

The *Maſſachuſets* Veſſels upon their Arrival at *Annapolis Royal* attempted to look into the Baſins of *Minas* and *Schicgnecto* in queſt of Mr. *Duvivier* and his Party, according to their Orders from *Boſton*; and to aſſiſt the Inhabitants in ſuch manner as Mr. *Maſcarene* ſhould direct: But the Seaſon being very tempeſtuous, the Navigation of the Bay exceeding dangerous, and Mr. *Maſcarene* having received certain Advice, that the *Indians* were diſperſed, and Mr. *Duvivier* gone with the Remainder of his Party to *Louisbourg* (as in Fact he was) after ſtaying at *Annapolis* till the latter End of *January* to countenance the Garriſon, and keep the *French* Inhabitants in a proper Reſpect and Awe, returned to *Boſton*.

Mr. *Duvivier* having retired to *Minas*, the Company of Rangers was poſted without the Fort, under the Cover of the Cannon, and ſecured by ſuch further Defence, as could be immediately raiſed with Pickets and other ſlight Works; which manner of poſting them was better adapted for the Service they were to be employed in, at the ſame time, that it was more

agreeable to them than to be lodged in Barracks within the Fort.

Before their Arrival, the Garriſon was confined within the Walls of the Fort, ſo that the Spot upon which it ſtood might juſtly be ſaid to be the only one in the Province, which they were Maſters of: But theſe *Indians* under the Management of Officers, who underſtood the proper Uſe of them, and to whoſe Orders they were perfectly obedient, ſoon freed it from that Reſtraint, and were in many other Reſpects of infinite Service to it: By their ſudden Excurſions (frequently made in the Night time) into different Parts of the Province either by Land Marches, or Deſcents in their Row-Gallies, they gained Intelligence of the Motions of the Enemy, and ſecret Correſpondence kept up between them and the Inhabitants, and, when Occaſion required, ſeized ſuch of the latter, as appeared to be the Ringleaders and the moſt dangerous among them; by which means, and ſometimes by ſurprizing Parties of the Cape *Sable Indians*, which were found in the neighbouring Woods, they not only became a Terror to the *French* Inhabitants, but to the *Indians* too; and the Garriſon Troops, by going out with them in Parties, were likewiſe made ſerviceable in that Duty.

To theſe timely Reinforcements and Succours, the *Governor* and his Majeſty's *Council* of *Nova Scotia* in their Letter of Thanks to the *Governor of the Maſſachuſets Bay* impute the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Garriſon and the whole

whole Province from falling into the Enemy's Hands that Year; and his Majeſty, upon having an Account of the Proceedings for the Preſervation of the Province laid before him, was pleaſed in Council to declare his Royal Approbation of *his* Conduct therein, and that his Majeſty would ſtand to the Engagements which *he* had made upon this Occaſion in his Name; and a Copy of his Majeſty's Royal Declaration was accordingly tranſmitted to *him* at *Boſton* under the Seal of the Council Office.

Whilſt theſe Matters were in Agitation, a Flag of Truce arrived ſometime in *Auguſt* at *Boſton* from *Louisbourg* with *Engliſh* Priſoners to be exchanged, and Diſpatches from Mr. *Duqueſnel* to the *Maſſachuſets Governor*, who learned from the former, that the *Canſo* Soldiers were confined very cloſe in unwholſome Priſons, and ſuffered great Hardſhips, by which ſome had died, and others been forced into the *French* Service; and in the Letter, Mr. *Duqueſnel* propoſed to him a Neutrality between the *French* and *Engliſh* Colonies, ſo far as related to the Fiſhery; as alſo that for the future the fiſhing Veſſels of each Nation ſhould carry on their fiſhing and proſecute their Voyages unmoleſted by the other; in Anſwer to this Propoſal, the *Maſſachuſets Governor* told him, he could not avoid expreſſing ſome Surprize, that after having taken and burnt *Canſo*, deſtroyed the whole *Engliſh* Fiſhery along that Coaſt, and made the Fiſhermen Priſoners, *contrary* to the Treaty of Neutrality concluded

ed in 1686 between the two Kingdoms, he ſhould propoſe one upon the Foot of a private Convention between the Governors of two Colonies, and even without offering to indemnify the *Engliſh* for the Damages they had already ſuſtained by his Hoſtilities from *Louiſbourg*; that he was obliged likewiſe to acquaint him, he was ſorry to hear, his Majeſty's Troops which were made Priſoners at *Canſo* by Capitulation for one Year only, underwent ſuch Hardſhips in their Confinement at *Louisbourg*, as deſtroyed ſome of them, and forced others, for Relief, to engage in the *French* King's Service; whereby the Articles of the Capitulation were fruſtrated, and his Majeſty was likely to have few or none of his Troops left to be returned at the End of the Year; that as he doubted not of Mr. *Duqueſnel*'s Diſpoſition to have the War carried on with Moderation and Humanity towards thoſe, who ſhould have the Misfortune to be made Priſoners on either Side, and a due Regard to the Rights of each Crown in its Subjects, who ſhould be made Priſoners by Capitulation, he would propoſe, that the *Canſo* Troops ſhould be ſent to *Boſton* as ſoon as might be, and he would be anſwerable that both Officers and Soldiers ſhould perform the Conditions, upon which they ſurrendered; and he hoped Mr. *Duqueſnel* would have no Objection to the Propoſal, as his ſending them away would eaſe the Government of *France* of the Expence of maintaining them, the Remainder of the Year.

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The *French* Governor, upon receiving this Propoſal, acquainted the *Engliſh* Officers with it; and let them know, he ſhould accede to it, upon their giving their Parole, that neither they nor the Soldiers ſhould ſerve againſt the *French* for the Space of one Year after the Expiration of that, for which they had agreed by the Articles of Capitulation to remain Priſoners: And upon their objecting to it, he told them, that as their remaining at *Louisbourg* would be inconvenient, he ſhould, if they did not accept of theſe new Terms, be obliged to ſend them to *Quebec*, from whence it would be impracticable for them to get Home long before the time, he propoſed to them.

Though the *French* Governor's exacting from the Officers this new Agreement, whereby the King was to be deprived of the Service of his Troops one Year longer than they had ſurrendered themſelves for, was a manifeſt Infringement of the Articles of the Capitulation, and what the Officers had no right to conſent to; yet they thought it for his Majeſty's Service to ſubmit to it; and accordingly gave their Parole; upon which the Troops were ſent to *Boſton*.

Upon the Arrival of the Officers there the *Governor of the Maſſachuſets Bay* gained ſuch Intelligence of the State of *Louiſbourg*, as with other Motives induced *him* to entertain a Deſign of forming an Expedition againſt it early in the ſucceeding Year.

Theſe Motives were as follows:

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With regard to the State of *Louiſbourg*, it appeared, that the Garriſon and Inhabitants muſt be diſtreſſed in a ſhort time for want of Proviſions, having been a few Weeks before exhauſted by furniſhing the *Eaſt India* Fleet and Squadron, which convoyed it, with Supplies for proſecuting their Voyage to *France*.—That the Troops of the Garriſon, which conſiſted only of ſix Companies of Marines and one *Swiſs* of 100 Men each, were ſhort of Complement, and badly diſciplined, the whole greatly diſcontented, and the Company of *Swiſs* very mutinous; that the Inhabitants were but few, and moſt of them unacquainted with the Uſe of Fire Arms; that ſeveral Parts of the Fortifications were out of Repair, particularly the Grand Battery, which had one End almoſt open, occaſioned by a new Work's being unfiniſhed, and many other Parts of it extremely low, and the whole commanded by a Hill cloſe behind it.—That Mr. *Duchambon*, who ſucceeded Mr. *Duqueſnel*, then lately dead, as Governor of the Colony, was wholly unſkilled in the Defence of a Fortification, the Engineer abſent, and the other Officers not much uſed to military Diſcipline; and that their Number of Troops was ſo ſmall, as put it intirely out of their Power to defend the ſeveral Parts, they were liable to be attacked in.—That though the Harbour was ſtrongly fortified, there were many convenient Places in *Chapeau Rouge Bay* for landing Troops, Cannon and Stores on the back Side of *Louiſ-*

bourg,

bourg, free from any Annoyance, and laying up the Tranſports in ſuch manner, that the Troops might have it in their Power to retreat to them upon an Emergency; that the City of *Louiſbourg* had no Batteries upon the Land Side; and the Extent of it was ſo ſmall, that every Houſe in it was expoſed to the Bombs and Cannon of the Beſiegers; which muſt oblige both Inhabitants and Soldiers when off Duty, to retire into the Caſmates, that were extremely damp and unwholſome.—That the Grand Battery, which could not make any Defence by Land, and from the beforementioned State of it appeared not to be tenable, when attacked on that Side, would probably be deſerted on the firſt Approach of an Enemy; and that by getting Poſſeſſion of it, and erecting Faſcine Batteries near the Light-Houſe, and in other convenient Places, it would be difficult, if not impracticable for any Ships to enter the Harbour againſt the Fire from them.—Upon all which Accounts it was extremely improbable that the Place ſhould hold out long againſt a Body of 3 or 4000 Men without Succours from *France*, which might be prevented from receiving Intelligence of its Circumſtances in time to ſend it Relief, by the armed Veſſels, which might be collected in the Colonies, and would be a ſufficient Force to intercept whatever might come from *Canada*, as alſo any Merchant Ships with Proviſions from *France* in the Spring.

The other Motives, which induced the Governor to think of forming an immediate Expedition againſt it, were—That Mr. *Duvivier* was ſent by Mr. *Duqueſnel*, a ſhort time before his Death, to *France*, in order to repreſent to the Government the weak Condition of *Annapolis Royal*, and State of the whole Province of *Nova Scotia*; and to procure an Armament from thence early the next Year to make an Attempt againſt it:—That the *New England Fiſhery* was wholly deſtroyed; as would likewiſe the Trade of the Northern Colonies be by the *French* Ships of War and Privateers from *Louisbourg* the Year following; that the Reduction of *Louisbourg* would be the moſt effectual Means of ſecuring *Nova Scotia*, reſtoring the *Engliſh Fiſhery*, and deſtroying that of the *French*, and protecting the Trade of the Colonies; and would facilitate the *Conqueſt of Canada* itſelf, if that ſhould be thought proper to be attempted in the ſucceeding Year: But in caſe the Succeſs of the Expedition ſhould fall ſhort of the Reduction of Cape *Breton*; yet the certain Effects of it would be the recovering of the Iſland of *Canſo*, and the whole Fiſhery along the Coaſt as far as *Newfoundland* by deſtroying the Buildings, and breaking up all the Settlements and Fiſhery upon the Iſland of Cape *Breton*; the cauſing ſuch a Diverſion as would probably ſecure *Nova Scotia* for the following Year at leaſt; and the diſarming the Harbour of *Louisbourg* of the Grand Battery; which would make it more

more practicable for the King's Ships to enter it, in caſe a naval Armament ſhould be ſent againſt it from *England*; all which would greatly overpay the Expence of the Attempt.

It was not doubted, that the *French* would form another Attempt from *Canada* againſt *Annapolis Royal* early in the Spring; but as the Fort was then in a much better Poſture of Defence by the Repairing of its old Works, and the Addition of new ones, and its Garriſon ſtrengthened with the ſeveral Reinforcements ſent from *Boſton*, and it appeared probable to the *Maſſachuſets Governor*, that the Expedition againſt Cape *Breton*, which he had determined to ſet on Foot, would make a conſiderable Diverſion in favour of it, he ſent no further Reinforcements to it that Year: Early in the Spring 1745, Mr. *Marin*, as was expected, inveſted the fort with about 1100 *French Indians* from *Canada*, but could make no Impreſſion upon it; he continued however his Hoſtilities there, till the Landing of the *New England* Troops upon the Iſland of Cape *Breton*, whereupon the *French* Governor found means to ſend for him to come to his aſſiſtance; which broke up the Siege of *Annapolis Royal*, and ridded the Province of the Enemy for ſixteen Months.

About the Middle of *January* 174$\frac{4}{5}$ the *Maſſachuſets* Governor recommended it in a Meſſage to the Aſſembly to proſecute an Expedition againſt the Iſland of Cape *Breton* early in the Spring.

The Aſſemby, upon the Secretary's laying the Meſſage before them, bound their Members to Secrecy; and after three Days cloſe Deliberation upon it, ſent him an Anſwer; the Subſtance of which was, "that they were "ſenſible of the Neceſſity, there was for mak- "ing an Attempt, as ſoon as poſſible, for the "Reduction of the Iſland of Cape *Breton*; "but the Undertaking was too great for the "Abilities of the Province, and prayed him to "repreſent to his Majeſty, how eſſential it "was for the Security of the Colonies and his "Service in *North America*, that an Expedi- "tion ſhould be fitted out from *England* againſt "this Iſland, and that they were ready to con- "tribute towards the Proſecution of it to the "utmoſt of their Power."

If every Advantage propoſed by the *Governor* in this Expedition had depended upon effecting the *Reduction* of the Iſland, the Meaſure recommended by the Aſſembly muſt have been more eligible to him than ſetting on foot, without the Sanction of the King's Orders, an Attempt of that Conſequence; which, if it had failed of Succeſs, might have been condemned as imprudent and raſh; but as he was fully perſuded of the high Probability, or rather Certainty, of ſucceeding at *leaſt* in the other Points before-mentioned, particularly the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Province of *Nova Scotia* from the Danger, it appeared to be threatened with that Year from *France*; the recovering the *Engliſh* Fiſhery, and Deſtruction

of

of that of the *French*; and that the ſame Advantages, which preſented for effecting this early in the Spring, could not be expected afterwards in the Courſe of the War, he thought it incumbent on him to avail himſelf of that Opportunity for promoting the *National* Intereſts as well as thoſe of the *Northern* Colonies; which muſt have been loſt, if he had waited till he could have received his Majeſty's Pleaſure thereupon.

The Subject of the Aſſembly's Deliberations, and the Reſult of them, notwithſtanding the Care taken to keep them ſecret, had ſo far tranſpired, that *Marblehead*, the principal fiſhing Town, and *Boſton* the chief trading Town and Metropolis of the Province had determined to petition the General Court to have the propoſed Expedition ſet on foot; and the Governor thereupon moved the Aſſembly in two other Meſſages to reſume the Conſideration of this Enterprize; and the more effectually to induce them to come into it, recommended to them to examine the Perſons, from whom he had received his Intelligence, concerning the Practicableneſs of it.

The Aſſembly immediately entered into a ſecond Conſideration of the Affair, and after ſpending three Days more in examining the Perſons, whom the Governor referred them to, with the cloſeſt Attention, came to the following Reſolves.

" That it was incumbent upon the *Maſſa-*
" *chuſets Government* to embrace the favourable
" Oppor-

" Opportunity, which then offered, for at-
" tempting the *Reduction* of the Iſland of Cape
" *Breton*.

" That the Captain-General ſhould be de-
" ſired to iſſue his Proclamation for the inliſt-
" ing 3,000 Volunteers (which they increaſed
" after to 3,250), for that Purpoſe, under ſuch
" Officers as he ſhould appoint.

" That Proviſion ſhould be made for fur-
" niſhing the neceſſary warlike Stores for the
" Expedition.

" That four Months Proviſions ſhould be
" laid in.

" That a Committee ſhould be appointed to
" procure fit Veſſels to ſerve as Tranſports, to
" be ready to depart the Beginning of *March*.

" That a ſuitable Naval Force ſhould be
" provided for their Convoy, as the General
" Court ſhould thereafter order.

" And that Application ſhould be forthwith
" made to the Governments of *New York*,
" *New Jerſey*, *Penſilvania*, *New Hampſhire*,
" *Connecticut*, and *Rhode Iſland*, to furniſh their
" reſpective Quota's of Men and Veſſels to *ac-*
" *company* or *follow* the Forces of the Pro-
" vince."

From theſe Reſolves it appears, that this Expedition was *undertaken* by the Province of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* before it was known, whether any of the other Colonies would aſſiſt them in it; and upon this Circumſtance in a great meaſure depended the Succeſs of it; neither the Diſpatch nor Secrecy, with which

it

it was to be puſhed on, would admit of a Participation of Councils with the other Colonies in the Formation and Direction of it: The Length of Time, it would have taken up before all the Governments concerned would have agreed, firſt upon the Expediency of the Attempt, afterwards upon their reſpective Quota's of Troops and other Expence, the Plan to be form'd, the Partition of Command in the Execution of it, and other Points, would in all Probability have rendered the Scheme abortive; whereas, when the voting of every thing requiſite for carrying the Attempt on in the beſt manner centered in the Aſſembly of *one* Province, whoſe Governor had the Direction of the whole, there was a fair Proſpect of ſucceeding in it: It was beſides an eaſier Taſk to bring the other Colonies to accede to an Expedition, in which they were deeply intereſted, after it was reſolved upon, and undertaken by the *Maſſachuſets Government*, than to induce them to a Concurrence in it at firſt, as Principals: But if every one of the other Governments had failed to aſſiſt in it, as ſome of them in fact did, the *Maſſachuſets* was determined to have taken the *whole* Burthen of proſecuting it upon themſelves.

The Governments, which joined with the *Maſſachuſets Bay* in this Expedition, were thoſe of *Connecticut*, *New Hampſhire*, and *Rhode Iſland*; the firſt voted 500 Men for the Service, upon Condition that the *Maſſachuſets* Governor

vernor would give the commanding Officer of their Forces the ſecond Commiſſion in the Expedition, which he accordingly did by his Commiſſion: The Province of *New Hampſhire* voted 300, and the Colony of *Rhode Iſland* the ſame Number.

The Colony Naval Force for this Enterprize conſiſted of 3 Frigates of 20 Guns each, a Snow of 16, a Brigantine of 12, and 5 armed Sloops mounting from 8 to 12 Carriage Guns, provided at the Expence of the *Maſſachuſets Bay*; and of the *Connecticut* and *Rhode Iſland* Sloops, both of 10 or 12 Carriage Guns, and a ſmall armed Veſſel from *New Hampſhire*.

The Train of Artillery collected by the Governor of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* conſiſted of 8 Cannon of 22 Pound Ball, 12 of 9 Pound, 2 Mortars of 12 Inches Diameter, one of 11, and one of 9, taken from his Majeſty's Caſtle *William* in the *Maſſachuſets* Harbour, being all that could be ſpared from thence without weakening the Fort too much, and ten Cannon of 18 Pound Ball borrowed by him for this Occaſion of the Governor of *New York*: This is the whole, which could be procured in time, and the *Maſſachuſets* Governor depended upon its being increaſed with ſome Pieces of Ordnance from the Grand Battery in *Louisbourg* Harbour, ſoon after the landing of the Troops upon the Iſland; in Confidence of which a ſuitable Quantity of 42 Pound Ball was tranſported from *Boſton* with the reſt of the Ordnance Stores for the Siege.

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As the *Maſſachuſets* Aſſembly at firſt entered into the Expedition upon the cooleſt Deliberation; ſo did they on the other hand exert themſelves with uncommon Vigour in the Proſecution of it: As ſoon as the Point was carried for undertaking it, every Member, which had oppoſed it, gave up his own private Judgment to the public Voice, and vied with thoſe, who had voted for the Expedition, in encouraging the Enliſtment of the Troops, and forwarding the Preparations for the Attempt.

The Bounty, Pay, and other Encouragements allowed by the *Maſſachuſets* Government to both Officers and Men, eſpecially the former, was ſmall; but the *Spirit*, which reigned through the Province, ſupplied the Want of that; the Complement of Troops was ſoon inliſted; not only the Officers, who ſerved in this Enterprize, were Gentlemen of conſiderable Property; but moſt of the Non-commiſſioned Officers and many of the private Men had valuable Farms, and enter'd into the Service upon the ſame Principles that the old *Roman* Citizens in the firſt Conſular Armies uſed to do, with a Reſolution to behave like Men, who were to fight *pro aris et focis*; which they were perſuaded was the Caſe in this Enterprize.

The Vote of Aſſembly for undertaking the Expedition was not paſſed till the 25th of *January*, when intenſe cold Weather begins to ſet in; yet all the Veſſels of War were got ready for the Sea, (the principal one of which was

but then lately put upon the Stocks), the Tranſports were provided, the Proviſions, Artillery, Ordnance, and other Stores ſhipp'd, the whole Armament equipped, and the Troops embarked at *Boſton*, within ſeven Weeks after the Governor had iſſued his Proclamation for ſetting it on foot, and ſeveral of the armed Veſſels were upon their Station before *Louisbourg*, many Days before, in order to hinder Intelligence or Supplies from getting in; and to prevent it's being ſent from the Colonies Embargoes were laid, and every Precaution taken; and the Preparations were conducted with ſuch Secrecy, that the firſt Notice, which the *French* had of the Attempt, was given them by the Appearance of the *Engliſh* in *Chapeau-Rouge* Bay.

The *Maſſachuſets Governor*, from the Beginning, depended on the Aſſiſtance of ſome of his Majeſty's Ships in *North America*, and as ſoon as the Expedition was determined upon, ſent an Expreſs Boat to the late Sir *Peter Warren*, then *Commodore Warren*, at *Antigua*, acquainting him with it, and deſiring his Aſſiſtance in it with ſuch Ships, as could be ſpared from his Majeſty's Service in the *Leward* Iſlands; at the ſame time he informed the late Sir *Chaloner Ogle* of it, who was then upon the Point of returning Home from *Jamaica* with a Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships, and propos'd to him to make *Louiſbourg* in his Way; and as ſoon as the Troops were embarked, he acquainted his Majeſty's Miniſters

Miniſters with the Expedition, and his Motives for ſetting it on Foot, informing them, that 4000 *New England* Forces would be landed upon the Iſland of Cape *Breton* in *April*, if no unforeſeen Accident prevented; but that in caſe it ſhould not be his Majeſty's Pleaſure to ſupport the Expedition, he had concerted Meaſures in ſuch manner, as to provide a ſafe Retreat for them; that though he could not take upon him to promiſe the Reduction of the Iſland, yet he would be anſwerable for the Succeſs of the Attempt ſo far, as that *Canſo* ſhould be recovered for his Majeſty, all the Buildings in the Town of *Louiſbourg*, and upon the whole Iſland deſtroyed, the *French* Fiſhery depending upon it broke up; and the *Engliſh* Fiſheries upon the Bank of *Nova Scotia*, and all along the whole Coaſt as far as *Newfoundland* reſtored; and that at leaſt the Grand Battery in the Harbour of *Louisbourg* ſhould be taken, ſo that the Advantages gained in the Expedition would abundantly recompenſe for the Expences incurr'd in it, even though it ſhould fail of the Reduction of the Iſland to the Obedience of his Majeſty; and he deſired particular Directions, whether in caſe a Conqueſt ſhould be made of the Iſland, he ſhould cauſe the Fortreſs and Works in the Harbour to be demoliſh'd or kept to be garriſoned by his Majeſty's Troops.

Upon the Arrival of the Expreſs ſent to *England*, it was determined there to ſupport the Expedition, and in conſequence of it his

Majeſty's Ships *Princeſs Mary*, *Hector*, *Cheſter*, *Canterbury*, and *Sunderland* were diſpatched with Orders to join Mr. *Warren*'s Squadron at *Louisbourg*, which they did during the Siege; in Anſwer to the Diſpatches ſent to Sir *Chaloner Ogle* at *Jamaica* Admiral *Davers* who relieved him, acquainted the Governor, that he had preſſed him much to comply with the Propoſal of his Letter, but could not prevail on him to do it: And in Anſwer to his Letter ſent to Mr. *Warren* at *Antigua*, he received one from him, dated the 24th of *February*, incloſing a Copy of the Conſultation of the Captains then preſent, held on Board the *Launceſton* the 23d of *February*, in which was ſet forth, " That *Commodore Warren* having laid before them a Letter from Governor *Shirley* of his Majeſty's Province of *New England*, together with a Scheme for attacking and ſurprizing the Fort and Town of *Louisbourg* and Cape *Breton*, requeſting ſome of the Ships from that Station to his Aſſiſtance, they had taken the ſame into their mature Conſideration, and it appearing the ſaid Scheme had been undertaken without firſt receiving his Majeſty's Approbation, and that no Orders had been ſent by the Lords of the Admiralty for any Ships giving their Aſſiſtance, and that the taking any of the Ships off thoſe Stations (in the Room of the *Weymouth*, which had been unfortunately loſt) would be a great weakening of thoſe Iſlands, and could be of no great Service in ſuch an Undertaking,

" ing, and it might be attended with bad " Conſequences, as a Squadron of the Ene- " my's Ships were daily expected at *Mart-* " *nique.*"

" They therefore unanimouſly agreed, and " gave it as their Opinions, that it would be " moſt for his Majeſty's Service for Commo- " dore *Warren* to ſend the *North America* " ſtationed Ships away to their reſpective Sta- " tions, and remain there himſelf in the *Su-* " *perbe*, till Anſwers could return to his Ex- " preſs from *England* by the *Mercury*, whom, " it was their Advice to ſend away immediately " with the Account of the unhappy Accident " that had befallen the *Weymouth*, and Copies " of *Governor Shirley*'s Letters and Schemes, in " order to receive their Lordſhips Directions " thereupon."

This Pacquet arriv'd at *Boſton* the Day before the *New England* Fleet ſailed from thence for *Louisbourg*, at which time the Governor was not certain that the Expedition would be ſupported with any of his Majeſty's Ships; and as the Contents of it, if publickly known, could have had no good Effect for his Majeſty's Service at that critical Conjuncture, he did not think it adviſeable to communicate them to the General Aſſembly, or any Perſon whatever except the Commander in Chief of the Expedition, and the General Officer then next in Command to him.

A few Days after Mr. *Warren* had diſpatched the Expreſs Boat back to *New England*,

land, his Majeſty's Sloop *Hind* arrived at *Antigua* with Orders for him to repair forthwith to *Boſton* " with ſuch of the Ships under his " Command, as could be ſpared from his " Majeſty's Service in the Parts where he was " ſtationed, in order to concert Meaſures with " Governor *Shirley* for the Protection of the " Trade, Annoyance of the Enemy, and his " Majeſty's *General* Service in *North Ameri-* " *ca.*"

Purſuant to theſe Orders, Mr. *Warren* forthwith ſailed from *Antigua* in the *Superbe*, taking with him his Majeſty's Ships *Mermaid* and *Launceſton*, with an Intention to proceed directly to *Boſton*; imagining that Mr. *Shirley* upon receiving the late Anſwer to his Letter deſiring the Aſſiſtance of ſome of the Ships under his Command in the Expedition againſt Cape *Breton*, had let drop all Thoughts of proceeding in it; but upon getting Intelligence in his Paſſage, that the *New England* Armament had ſailed from *Boſton* for *Louisbourg*, and was to ſtop a ſhort time at *Canſo Iſland*, he changed his former Sentiments concerning the unadviſeableneſs of proſecuting the Enterprize without his Majeſty's expreſs Orders; and by a Schooner, which he took up at Sea, acquainted Mr. *Shirley*, that inſtead of coming to *Boſton* he ſhould proceed directly to *Canſo*, there to conſult with the General, and from thence go before *Louisbourg* and aſſiſt in the Expedition; and as he was ſhort of Proviſions, Ammunition and other Stores for that Service,

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he desired Mr. *Shirley* to send him thither the Quantities expressed in his Letter, as speedily as he could.

What rendered this News still more agreeable to the *Massachusets Government* was, the great Esteem they had for Mr. *Warren* on account of his known Disposition for promoting his Majesty's Service in the Northern Colonies, the Opinion they entertained of his Vigilance and other Qualifications for the Sea Command upon that Expedition, and the good Understanding, which subsisted between him and the *Governor*, as also between him and the *General* of the Land Forces.

On the 24th of *March* 1745 the *Massachusets* Troops amounting to 3250, exclusive of Commissioned Officers, embarked at *Boston*, and sailed under the Convoy of the *Shirley* Galley, Captain *Rous* Commander, and arrived the 4th of *April* at *Canso* Island, which was appointed by the Governor to be the Place of Rendezvous for the Transports and Cruizers, and for a Communication of Intelligence between himself at *Boston*, the General of the Land Forces before the City of *Louisbourg*, and the Commander of the Ships before the Harbour; as also for lodging all Stores not in immediate Use in the Camp and Fleet: Here they found the *New Hampshire* Forces, consisting of 304 Men and Officers, had arrived four Days before them; and on the 25th they were joined by the *Connecticut* Troops amounting to 516, inclusive of Commissioned Officers:

Officers: As to the 300 expected from *Rhode Island*, they did not join the Forces of the other Governments till after *Louisbourg* was taken.

Chapeau-Rouge Bay, which was the Place appointed for landing the Troops, being so filled with Ice as to make that impracticable before the latter End of *April*, the Forces were detained until then at *Canso*; where the General form'd the Detachments ordered to be employed in the several Attacks proposed to be made immediately after the landing the main Body at *Flat Point Cove*, according to the Plan of Operations which had been concerted at *Boston*, and there given him in Charge by the Governor's Instructions.

During the Stay of the Troops at *Canso*, a Block-house was erected upon a Hill there picketed round, and defended by eight Cannon of nine Pound Ball; and two armed Vessels sent into *Bay Verte* in the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, to take or destroy some Vessels, which, according to Information, lay there in order to take in Provisions for *Louisbourg*.

In the mean time, *April* 18th, the *Renommée*, a *French* Ship of War of 36 Guns nine Pounders with 300 Seamen and 50 Marines, charged with public Dispatches, fell in with the armed Vessels in the Service of the *Massachusets* Government before *Louisbourg* Harbour, where she maintained a running Fight with them, but got clear by outsailing them: This Ship afterwards fell in with the *Connecticut* Troops

Troops under the Convoy of their own Sloop, and that of *Rhode Iſland*, the latter of which ſhe attack'd and damaged conſiderably; but finally the Sloop got off, as did the Tranſports and other Sloop, during the Engagement: And after making two more Attempts to puſh into the Harbour withont Succeſs, ſhe returned to *France* without having delivered her Pacquets, from whence ſhe ſail'd again the Beginning of *July*, with ſix Ships more, being the *Breſt* Squadron deſtined againſt *Annapolis Royal*.

April the 22d his Majeſty's Ship *Eltham* of 40 Guns arriv'd at *Canſo* from *New England*, under Orders from Mr. *Warren*; and on the the 23d Mr. *Warren* in his Majeſty's Ship *Superbe* of 60 Guns, with the *Launceſton* and *Mermaid* of 40 Guns; and after ſtaying there ſome Hours; and conferring with the General by Letter ſailed to *Louiſbourg* in order to criuze off the Harbour.

On the 29th of *April* the Troops embark'd in four Diviſions of Tranſports, and ſailed for *Chapeau-rouge* Bay, with an armed Snow and two armed Sloops in the Service of the *Maſſachuſets* Government, under the Fire of whoſe Cannon they were to land: And at the ſame time a Detachment of 270 Men, under the Command of a Colonel, and Convoy of an arm'd Sloop in the Pay of *New Hampſhire* Government, were ſent to *St. Peter's*, a ſmall *French* Settlement on Cape *Breton*, with Orders to

take the Place, burn the Houſes, and demoliſh the Fort; which was accordingly effected.

On the 30th of *April*, between Nine and Ten in the Morning, the Fleet having the main Body of the Troops on board came to an Anchor in *Chapeau-rouge* Bay, at the Diſtance of about two Miles from *Flat Point Cove:* Upon the Diſcovery of this the Enemy fired ſome Cannon, and rang their Bells in the Town, to alarm and call in their People living in the Environs, and ſent out of the Town a Detachment of about 150 Men, under the Command of Mr. *Boularderie*, late an Officer in one of the Regiments in *France*, to oppoſe the landing of the Troops; whereupon the General made a Feint of landing a Party of his Men in Boats at *Flat Point Cove*, in order to draw the *French* thither (which had its Effect) and upon a Signal from the Veſſel thoſe Boats returned, and joined another Party under his Stern, from whence were landed two Miles higher up the Bay, about 100 Men, before the Enemy could get up there; whom they briſkly attack'd, though under the Advantage of being covered with their Woods, and after killing ſix of them upon the Spot, taking as many Priſoners, (among whom was Mr. *Boularderie)*, and wounding ſeveral others, forc'd the Remainder to make a precipitate Flight towards the Town, in which ſome others were taken Priſoners, with the Damage ſuſtained on the Part of the *Engliſh*, of only two Men being

ing ſlightly wounded: On the ſame Day about 2000 more of the Troops were landed without Oppoſition, and the Remainder, being near 2000, the Day following.

On the Day following a Detachment of 400 Men marched round to the North-eaſt Harbour, behind the Range of Hills there, and burnt all the Enemy's Houſes and Stores in the Neighbourhood, at the Diſtance of about a Mile from the Grand Battery; whereupon the Enemy deſerted it the ſame Night, leaving the Artillery, conſiſting of 28 Cannon of 42 Pound Ball, and two of 18 Pound, with the Ordnance Stores (except their Powder, which they threw into a Well), ſo precipitately, that they only ſpik'd up their Cannon in a ſlight manner, without knocking off the Trunnions, or doing other Damage to them, and but very little to the Carriages: The next Morning a Party of ſixteen Men diſcovered, that the Enemy had abandoned the Grand Battery, and drove off a Party of them, as they were attempting to reland there that Morning in Boats.

As ſoon as the *New England* Men had taken Poſſeſſion of the Grand Battery, the *French* kept an inceſſant Fire againſt it with their Cannon and Bombs both from the Town and Iſland Battery; the former of which is diſtant 5913 Feet from it, and the latter 4800; notwithſtanding which three of the Cannon in the Grand Battery, which pointed againſt the

Town, were cleared by the Day following, and the Enemy's Fire was returned upon the Town from them, as was that from their Iſland Battery ſoon after, by other Cannon, which pointed againſt it, and were drilled within a few Days.

The *New England* Troops, within the Compaſs of 23 Days from the time of their firſt landing, erected five Faſcine Batteries againſt the Town, mounted with Cannon of 42 lb. 22 lb. and 18 lb. Shot, Mortars of 13, 11, and 9 Inches Diameter, with ſome Cohorns; all which were tranſported by hand, with incredible Labour and Difficulty, moſt of them above two Miles; all the Ground over which they were drawn, except ſmall Patches or Hills of Rocks, was a deep Moraſs, in which, whilſt the Cannon were upon Wheels, they ſeveral times ſunk ſo deep, as not only to bury the Carriages, but their whole Bodies: Horſes and Oxen could not be employed in this Service, but all muſt be drawn by Men, up to the Knees in Mud; the Nights, in which the Work was done, were cold and foggy, their Tents bad, there being no proper Materials for Tents to be had in *New England*, at the Out-ſet of the Expedition: But notwithſtanding theſe Difficulties, and many of the Men's being taken down with Fluxes, ſo that at one time there were 1500 incapable of Duty, they went on without being diſcouraged, or murmuring, and by the Help

Help of Sledges tranſported the Cannon and Mortars over theſe Ways, which the *French* had always thought impaſſable for ſuch heavy Weights; and beſides this, they had all their Proviſions and heavy Ammunition, which they daily made uſe of, to bring from the Camp over the ſame Way upon their Backs.

To annoy the Beſiegers in making their Approaches, and carrying on their Batteries, the Enemy erected new Works, from which, as well as from the Cannon of other Batteries, and their Mortars, they continually maintained a ſtrong Fire, till they were ſilenced.

The moſt advanced of the *New England* Batteries (which was finiſhed the 17th of *May*) was within the Diſtance of 250 Yards from the Weſt Gate of the Town; ſo that from this Battery ſeveral of the Enemy were killed by the Muſquetry of the Beſiegers, as were ſome of their Men by the Enemy from the Walls; and indeed this Battery was ſo near the Enemy's Works, that the Men were obliged to load the Cannon there under the Fire of their Muſquetry, which was very ſharp on both Sides, the *French* generally opening the Action every Morning with the Fire of their ſmall Arms for two Hours; which was conſtantly returned with Advantage: The Execution done from the Batteries of the Beſiegers was very conſiderable; the Weſt Gate was entirely beat down, the Wall adjoining very much

much battered, and a Breach made in it at about ten feet from the Bottom of the Wall: The circular Battery of 16 Canno,n 24 Pounders, near the Weſt Gate (and the principal one againſt Ships next to the Grand Battery, and Iſland Battery) was almoſt entirely ruined, and all the Cannon but three diſmounted: The North-eaſt Battery, conſiſting of two Lines of 42 and 32 Pounders, in all 17 Cannon (another principal Battery againſt Ships) was damaged, and the Men drove from their Guns; the Weſt Flank of the King's Baſtion belonging to the Citadel, and the Battery there of ſix 24 Pounders, which pointed to the Land Side, and greatly annoyed the Works of the Beſiegers, was almoſt demoliſhed: Two Cavaliers of 24 Pounders each, raiſed during the Siege, and two other Cannon of the ſame Weight of Metal, run out at two Embrazures cut through the Parapet near the Weſt Gate at the ſame time, (all pointing againſt the *New England* Batteries) were ſilenced: The Citadel was very much damaged; ſeveral Houſes in the City entirely demoliſhed, and almoſt every one, more or leſs hurt; and *Maurepas* Gate, at the Eaſtermoſt Part of the City, ſhattered: And as croſs Fires from the Cannon and Mortars of the Beſiegers ranged through the Streets in every Part of the City, and through the Enemy's Parades, whereby many were kill'd, it drove the Inhabitants out of their

Houſes

Houſes into Caſmates, and other cover'd Holds, where they were obliged to take Refuge for ſome Weeks: And beſides this, the Fire from the Grand Battery annoyed the Barracks of the Iſland Battery.

During this time the *New England* Parties of Scouts ſo thoroughly ranged the Woods, that they ſeldom returned without bringing in ſome Priſoners; which very much confined the Enemy within their Walls, who were conſtantly worſted in all Skirmiſhes, and repulſed in every Sally, which they made, frequently by an inferior Number of Men, and with very little loſs upon theſe Occaſions ſuſtained on the Part of the *New England* Men.

On the 26th of *May*, after ſome ineffectual Preparations for making an Attack upon the Enemy's Iſland Battery, which is a ſtrong Fort built on a rocky Iſland, at the Entrance into the Harbour, mounted with 30 Cannon of 28 Pound Shot, and having ſome Swivels upon its Breaſt Work, and two Braſs 10 Inch Mortars, with 180 Men, it was at Night attempted by a Party of 400 Men in Boats; but from the Strength of the Place, and the Advantage which the Enemy had by being under Cover, and the Aſſailants expoſed in open Boats, the Surf running high, the Men not being thoroughly acquainted with the beſt Place for landing, and the Enemy beſides (as is moſt probable) being apprized of their Deſign, they were repulſed with the Loſs of having about

ſixty

ſixty killed and drowned, and one hundred and ſixteen taken Priſoners; however ſeveral of them got within the Enemy's Battery and killed ſome of them.

It being judged extremely dangerous for his Majeſty's Ships to enter the Harbour, till the Enemy could be annoyed in that Battery; and thought after the laſt Attempt impracticable to reduce it by Boats, it was determined to erect a Battery near the Light-Houſe oppoſite to it, and at 3400 feet Diſtance from it; and the ſame was by the 11th of *June*, notwithſtanding the almoſt inſuperable Difficulties, which attended the Drawing of the Cannon up a ſteep Bank and Rock, raiſed in ſuch a manner, as not to be expoſed to more than four of the Enemy's Cannon, and at the ſame time to flank a Line of above 20 of their Guns; and two 18 Pounders were on that Day mounted, and began to play; by the 14th of *June* four more Cannon of 18 Pound Shot were added, and on the 15th a Mortar of 13 Inches was removed thither, out of which 19 Bombs were thrown, 17 whereof fell within the Iſland Battery, and one of them upon the Magazine of Powder; and this, together with the Fire from the Cannon of the Beſiegers, which flanked the Enemy's Cannon and Line of Barracks, ſo annoy'd them, that they could not remain with Safety in any part of the Fort.

And

And now the Grand Battery being in the Poſſeſſion of the *New England* Men, the Iſland Battery (eſteemed by the *French* the Palladium of *Louisbourg*) ſo much annoyed from the Light-Houſe Battery, that they could not entertain Hopes of keeping it much longer; the North Eaſt Battery damaged, and ſo much expoſed to the Fire from the new advanced Battery, that they could not ſtand to their Guns; the circular Battery ruined, and all its Cannon but three diſmounted; whereby the Harbour was diſarmed of all its principal Batteries; the Weſt Gate of the City being demoliſhed, and a Breach made in the adjoining Wall; the Weſt Flank of the King's Baſtion almoſt deſtroyed; and moſt of their other Guns, which had been mounted during the Time of the Siege, being ſilenced; all the Houſes and other Buildings within the City (ſome of which were quite demoliſh'd) ſo damaged, that but one among them was left unhurt; the Enemy extremely harraſſed by their long Confinement within their Caſmates; and their Stock of Ammunition being almoſt exhauſted, Mr. *Duchambon* ſent a Flag of Truce to the Camp on the 15th Day of *June* in the Afternoon, deſiring time to conſider of Articles of Capitulation; which was accordingly granted till next Morning, when they ſent Articles which were rejected, and others propoſed in their Stead, and accepted by the Enemy: And Hoſtages being exchanged on the ſame Day

for the Performance of the Articles, on the Day following, being the 17th of *June* (49 Days after the *New England* Men landed upon the Iſland) the City was ſurrendered, and the Garriſon, conſiſting of about 650 Regular Troops, and the Inhabitants of the City, being about 1300 effective Men, beſides Women and Children, made Priſoners by Capitulation, with the Loſs of no more than 101 Men killed by the Enemy, and all other Accidents from the Time of their Landing to the Reduction of the Place, with about 30 who died of Sickneſs.

In the Articles of Capitulation propoſed by Mr. *Duchambon* †, it was provided, that upon his Surrender of the Iſland the Inhabitants ſhould have their Option either to tranſport themſelves and their Moveables to *France* or *Canada*, or to remain in Cape *Breton*, and enjoy their Eſtates there with the free Exerciſe of their Religion; but former Experience of the miſchievous Effects of the like Indulgence to the Inhabitants of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadie* by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, occaſioned the latter Part of the Propoſal to be rejected, and they were only permitted, by the Ratification of the Articles finally concluded on, to tranſport themſelves and their Effects either to *France* or *Canada*; but not to remain in the Colony.

Upon the Surrender of *Louisbourg* the Inhabitants of the Iſland of St. *John*'s made their Submiſſion, deſiring to be included in the Ar-

† Governor of Cape *Breton*.

ticles

ticles of Capitulation granted to thoſe of Cape *Breton*, and delivering Hoſtages for the Performance of them on their Part, which was accordingly granted.

During the Siege ſome of the *New England* Cruizers made a Deſcent upon the Iſland of St. *John*'s, in which they burnt ſome Houſes, and committed other Ravages; and Parties of the Beſiegers broke up all the Fiſhing Settlements at Cape *Breton*; and on the 19th of *May*, the *Vigilant*, a *French* Ship of War of 64 Guns, bound for *Louiſbourg* with Ordnance Stores, fell in with the *Mermaid* of 40 Guns, Captain *Douglaſs*, who was cruizing at a ſmall Diſtance from *Louiſbourg*, and by maintaining a running Fight decoyed the *French* Commander to follow him till he got in among Mr. *Warren*'s Ships, who took him after an Engagement of ſome Hours, in Sight of the Camp at *Louisbourg*; which cut off from the Enemy all Hopes of any Succour, and gave great Spirit to the Land Forces in carrying on the Siege; and on the 14th of *June*, it was determined by the General and Commodore to make an Attack by Land and Sea, as ſoon as his Majeſty's Ships *Sunderland* and *Canterbury*, which were then daily expected, ſhould arrive; accordingly the next Day all the Tranſports were ordered off to take out the ſpare Maſts and Yards, and other Lumber of the Men of War; and the Soldiers employed in gathering Moſs to barricade their Netting, and 600 of them were put on Board the

King's Ships at the Commodore's Requeſt to aſſiſt in the Attack by Sea; but the intended Aſſault was prevented by the *French* Governor's ſending out a Flag of Truce, as is before mentioned, on the 16th, and the Surrender of the Fort and Batteries in the Harbour the Day following.

The Attempt againſt *Louisbourg* not being yet known either in *France*, or any part of the *Weſt Indies*, the *Engliſh*, after they were in Poſſeſſion of it, kept the *French* Flag flying in the Port for a Decoy to the *French* Ships bound thither; this had its Effect in drawing ſeveral valuable Prizes to it; particularly three homeward bound Ships from the *South Sea* and *Eaſt Indies*, having rich Cargoes on Board, to the Amount of above 600,000 *l.* which were prevented from entering the Harbour, as they were making it, by ſome of Mr. *Warren*'s Squadron then lying there, which juſt went out to make Captures of the *French* Ships before they could get in.

It ſeems dubious, whether the taking of theſe Ships under ſuch Circumſtances was a Capture within the Intent of the King's Proclamation, and intituled the Captors to the Benefit of them: If it was not, the Ships and their Cargoes belonged of Courſe to the publick Treaſure; and, in ſuch Caſe, would of themſelves have more than doubly paid the Nation's Expence in the Reduction of the Iſland; but this Point not being moved in the Court of Admiralty, where they were condemned,

demned, the Captures were treated as ordinary Captures at Sea, and the Ships and Cargoes adjudged as Prizes to the Officers and Crews of the Ships concerned in taking them.

Upon Mr. *Duvivier*'s Arrival in *France* the preceding Winter, and repreſenting to the Court of *Verſailles* the weak State, he left *Nova Scotia* in, upon which Commiſſion, as has been obſerved, Mr. *Duqueſnel*, the late Governor of Cape *Breton*, had ſent him, it was determined to fit out an Armament from *Breſt* for the Reduction of it; and a Squadron of ſeven Ships accordingly ſailed from thence for *Annapolis Royal*, the Beginning of *July* 1745; but upon gaining certain Intelligence from a Veſſel, which they took in their Paſſage, that the *Engliſh* were in Poſſeſſion of *Louiſbourg*, and had a ſtrong Squadron there, they deſiſted from proſecuting their Enterprize againſt *Nova Scotia*.

The immediate Conſequences of the Expedition were the recovering the Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Canſo*, reſtoring the *Engliſh* Cod Fiſhery, and breaking up that of the *French*; the Capture of the greateſt Part of the *French* Trade, which that Year paſſed through the *Atlantic* Ocean; the freeing *Nova Scotia* of the Attempts with which it had been continually harraſſed from *Canada* the Year before, and the Preſervation of it againſt the Armament, which was fitted out from *Breſt* in *July* following.

Soon

Soon after making this Acquiſition to his Majeſty's *American* Dominions, a new Scene of Difficulties opened in providing for the Preſervation of it, till Troops could be ſent from *Europe* to garriſon it; which was not done till the Spring following.

Much the greateſt Part of the *New England* Forces, eſpecially thoſe of the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, were (as hath been obſerved) Farmers, who own'd valuable Freeholds in the Country, and entered into the Service with an Expectation of returning home as ſoon as the Siege was ended, without conſidering the Neceſſity of ſtaying to keep Poſſeſſion of *Louisbourg*, till they could be relieved by other Troops; that Zeal and Ardour, which made them the foremoſt to engage in the Expedition, and encounter all Difficulties in making the Conqueſt, when that was made, ſooner abated in them, than it did in thoſe, who had no Property in the Country, and were only Mercenaries in the Service: The Thoughts that their Huſbandry Buſineſs and Families were both ſuffering by their Abſence, made them uneaſy at being detained at *Louisbourg*; and this increaſed by the inactive Garriſon Duty, which ſucceeded the Toils of the Siege, and a ſalt ſcorbutic Diet (both which they had been unaccuſtomed to) made them ſickly, and ſoon grew into Diſcontent; which ſpread ſo much, that the *General* acquainted the *Maſſachuſets Governor*, his Preſence was neceſſary to allay it; and, in the mean time, to pacify the great Numbers,

Numbers, which daily preſſed him for Diſcharges, referred them to him, telling them that he had repreſented their Caſe to the *Governor*, who only had Power to diſcharge them, and would come to *Louisbourg* in a ſhort time; and deſiring them to ceaſe their Importunity for being diſmiſſed *only* till his Arrival.

Other Calls likewiſe required the *Governor*'s Preſence at *Louisbourg*; a Notion that the Captors were intitled to the Soil of the Iſland had ſo far prevailed there, that Mr. *Warren*, in his firſt Letter to him from thence after the Reduction of it, deſired his Opinion upon that Point.

Tho' this Miſtake was very palpable, as the Expedition was at firſt ſet on foot under a Proclamation of the King's Governor, iſſued by Virtue of his general Authority received from the Crown; carried on by Officers under his Commiſſion, iſſued by the ſame Authority; the Soldiers inliſted expreſsly into his Majeſty's Service for the Expedition; both Officers and Men ſubjected to Courts Martial erected by his Governor upon that Occaſion; and paid with the King's Money; (for ſuch was every Sum raiſed to defray the Expence of the Expedition, being granted by Act of Aſſembly to his Majeſty for that Service) all which was ſignified to the *Commodore* in Anſwer to his Letter; yet ſo ſtrongly had the Opinion been adopted, that it was ſtill entertained, and a Day thought of for proceeding

to

to make a Diſtribution of part of the conquered Lands among ſuch of the Officers and Soldiers, as would engage to ſettle upon them.

It was evident how ill concerted a Meaſure this would prove, if in the End of the War his Majeſty ſhould think fit to make a Reſtitution of Cape *Breton* to *France*; both on account of the Diſappointments it muſt have occaſion'd to thoſe, who ſhould have Lands aſſigned them, and the public Murmurs it might be attended with: A Court of Vice Admiralty was likewiſe appointed at *Louiſbourg* (in derogation of the Juriſdiction of his Majeſty's high Court of Admiralty in *England*) for the Condemnation of the *French* Ships and their Cargoes; and Notice ſent to the ſeveral *Britiſh* Colonies upon the Continent, that Sale would be made of them under ſuch Condemnation at a Time prefixed; all which Proceedings, if carried into Execution, would probably have produced great Confuſion; and it was therefore incumbent upon the *Governor*, under whoſe Commiſſion this Acquiſition was made for his Majeſty, and to whom conſequently the Exerciſe of his Majeſty's Government within the new Colony appertained, until his Majeſty's Pleaſure ſhould be known, to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to prevent or rectify.

Another forcible Reaſon for the *Governor*'s repairing to *Louiſbourg* was; the Commodore had at firſt taken and kept Poſſeſſion of one or more of the Land Batteries, with his Marines; and once taken the Keys of the City Gates

Gates into his Cuſtody, and interfer'd in the Naval Office: Theſe Acts, though gone into by him on the ſudden, and but of a very ſhort Continuance, were aggravated to the *Maſſachuſets* Aſſembly by inflammatory Reports from *Louiſbourg*; and, together with other Steps he had taken, which they conceived derogatory to the Honour of the Province in the late Expedition, gave ſuch Umbrage, that they were urgent to the laſt Degree with the Governor to proceed directly to *Louisbourg*, and take the Government of it upon him; promiſing in his Abſence to encourage and forward the raiſing Recruits for relieving the Troops, which had been employed in the Siege; and to uſe every other Meaſure for ſupporting the new Conqueſt from *Boſton*; all which, in the Temper they were then thrown into, they would have been ſlack in doing, if the Governor had not complied with their Deſire; and beſides, the Troops at *Louisbourg* were impatient for his Arrival there: He therefore determined to proceed thither in his Majeſty's Ship *Hector*, which Mr. *Warren* had ſent to *Boſton* for that Purpoſe, and waited for him.

Before he embark'd, the commanding Officer of the *Rhode Iſland* Troops, which were then juſt raiſed, arriv'd at *Boſton* with Diſpatches from the Governor of that Colony, acquainting him, that the Troops were ready, and he had ſent the Officer to him for his Orders: This being an acceptable Corps de reſerve towards relieving the Troops at *Louiſ-*

bourg, and, as it happened, more opportunely raiſed than if they had aſſiſted in the Siege, he ordered directly thither.

Upon the Governor's Arrival at *Louisbourg* a general Joy appeared in the Troops, which was ſtill heighten'd in the Men by an Expectation of having a ſhort Day fix'd for their being relieved; on the other hand, the Neceſſity which the Governor was under of diſappointing theſe Hopes in a great meaſure, was no ſmall Embarraſſment to him: It was thought moſt adviſeable upon this Occaſion, that he ſhould ſpeak to every Regiment ſeparately, and that Regiment ſpoke to firſt, which was thought to be the leaſt diſcontented; he obſerved to them, "that it was a moſt unreaſonable Notion, which he heard ſome had entertained, that the Expedition was to end with the Siege and Surrender of *Louisbourg*; that they had entered into it, in order to make a Conqueſt (which to their great Honour they had happily effected) for the Service of their King and Country, not to abandon it immediately after to the Enemy: That for ſecuring the Benefit of it, it was neceſſary a ſufficient Number of them ſhould keep Poſſeſſion till they could be relieved by other Troops, which he hoped would ſoon be done by ſome of his Majeſty's Regiments from *Europe*; and in the mean time, till they ſhould arrive, Recruits were raiſing in the Colonies for the ſame Purpoſe; that as faſt as they were tranſported to *Louisbourg*, the Soldiers of the preſent Garriſon

"ſhould

" ſhould be ſent Home; and that he ſhould " diſcharge as many of them in preſent, as was " conſiſtent with the Safety of the Place; that " before he left *Boſton*, he had taken care to " get their Bounty enlarged, and other Votes " of Aſſembly paſſed in their favour; and for " thoſe, whoſe Lot it ſhould be to remain in " Garriſon ſome time longer, nothing in his " Power ſhould be wanting for their Eaſe and " Comfort in that Situation."

The Regiment firſt ſpoken to expreſſed their Satisfaction in the Aſſurances given them, by the uſual Acclamations on ſuch Occaſions; which Example was followed by the reſt; and their late Uneaſineſs ſo greatly ſubſided, that for five or ſix Weeks they went through every Part of their Duty with great Chearfulneſs and Alacrity; particularly upon an Alarm of a *French* Squadron's having paſſed by, ſuppoſed to be deſtined for *Annapolis Royal*, on which Occaſion 600 Soldiers were wanted on board Mr. *Warren*'s Squadron, which was upon the Point of ſailing to the Bay of *Funda* in queſt of it, that Number entered as Volunteers into the Service, and came on board his Ships in 14 Hours time.

At the End of ſix Weeks an Uneaſineſs again broke out among them, and grew much higher than the former, towards raiſing which many Circumſtances concurred.

A Sickneſs, which ſwept off in the whole 15 or 1600, daily increaſed among them: The *Maſſachuſets* Troops, which made three

fourths of the Garriſon, had been diſappointed in their Expectations of ſeveral things from the Aſſembly; the Cloaths and Woollens, they carried with them, were ſoon worn out in hard Duty during the Siege; and a ſufficient Quantity was not to be purchaſed in the *Maſſachuſets* Province for relieving their immediate Wants, as the Aſſembly had undertaken to do, that they might have them at the prime Coſts; the Pay allowed them had from the Beginning been much leſs than the Eſtabliſhment for the *Connecticut* Troops; and their Families, according to the uſual Courſe of *Colony* Pay, could receive no part even of that till the End of their Service: And further, a new Notion had been infuſed into all the Troops, that three Months being elapſed ſince the Surrender of the Place, they had a Right to demand their Diſmiſſion; which the greateſt Part of them had entered into a Combination to do early the next Morning upon the public Parade before the Fort.

Late in the Afternoon before this Deſign was to be put in Execution, Information was given of it to the Governor; whereupon two or three of the Ring-leaders were ſecur'd, and the Men off Duty ordered into their Barracks.

In a Council of War called upon this Occaſion it was the unanimous Opinion, that the Pay of the *Maſſachuſets* Troops ought from that Day to be raiſed to the *Connecticut* Eſtabliſhment; that if the Governor would give them

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an abſolute Promiſe, that that ſhould be done, it would be ſatisfactory to them; but that if he proceeded no further than to aſſure them he would exert his beſt Endeavours with the Aſſembly to have their Pay raiſed, their preſent Temper and Diſcontent were ſuch, as that it would have no effect upon the Men.

Orders were given the ſame Night, that an extraordinary Number of Officers ſhould continually walk the Rounds till Morning; and that the ſeveral Regiments ſhould be very early drawn up at their reſpective alarm Poſts for the Governor to ſpeak to them: Accordingly the Day following " he promiſed the *Maſſa-*
" *chuſets* Troops, that their preſent Pay of 25*s.*
" per Month of the new Tenor *Maſſachuſets*
" Currency, ſhould from that Day be raiſed
" to 40*s.* to all ſuch of them, as ſhould be de-
" tained at *Louiſbourg* till Spring; acquainted
" them that for providing Cloaths for them,
" as far as was in his Power, he had, two
" Months before, deſired the Governor of *New*
" *York* and *Penſilvania* to procure for him
" what Woollens they could at *New York* and
" *Philadelphia* upon his own Bills, in addition
" to what the Aſſembly ſhould be able to buy
" up in *Boſton*; that he had lately received
" Advice that a very large quantity of Woollens
" were ſhipped for him from *Philadelphia*,
" and that he expected a ſupply of Cloaths
" of all Kinds, and Bedding for them would
" ſpeedily arrive at *Louisbourg*; that he had
" ordered the Muſter-Rolls of every Company

" to be made up and each Man's Account " ſtated; and would take care upon his Re- " turn to *Boſton*, that whatever was due to any " of them, ſhould be forthwith paid to their " reſpective Orders: And he informed the " Troops in general, that he expected a conſi- " derable Number of Recruits were now upon " their Paſſage to *Louisbourg*; that he would " diſcharge by the Middle of *October* as many " of thoſe, who had ſerv'd at the Siege as " would reduce the Garriſon to 2000; which " Number it was abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould " retain during the Winter for the Security " of the Place; and he would beſides permit " a Number, not exceeding thirty, ſuch as the " Army ſhould pitch upon, to go to *New* " *England* upon Furlow, in order to procure " ſuch Neceſſaries or Conveniencies for them, " as they ſhould deſire."

Upon theſe Aſſurances they were pacified, and no Diſcontent appeared afterwards among them during the whole time of their Service at *Louisbourg*.

Soon after the Governor's coming to *Louiſbourg*, all Thoughts of a Diſtribution of the conquered Lands among the Captors were lay'd aſide; a Stop was put to the Proceedings of the new Court of Vice Admiralty, and intended Sale of the *French* Ships and Cargoes; all Points were ſettled to general Satisfaction, and an Harmony ſubſiſted the whole time between the *Governor*, *General*, and *Commodore*; the latter of whoſe Conduct with regard

gard to the ſeveral Points, upon which the *Maſſachuſets* Aſſembly had conceived ſome Diſguſt, the Governor ſtated in ſo juſt a Light to them, that upon his recommending a Letter of Thanks to be ſent him by the General Court for his public Services, a Vote was accordingly paſſed for paying the Compliments of the Province to him, at the ſame time that they voted the like to be ſent to the General.

The Conqueſt of Cape *Breton* afforded the *Engliſh* great Advantages for attempting the Reduction of *Canada*, as the Poſſeſſion of it together with *Nova Scotia*, gave them the intire Command of the Gulf of St. *Lawrence*, and Entrance into the River *Canada*; ſo that they had it then in their Power to cut off *Quebec*, in which conſiſts the principal Strength of the Country, from receiving any Support from *France*: Many other Circumſtances likewiſe concurred to favour an Attempt againſt it the next Year.

It appeared from undoubted Accounts, that *Niagara* and *Cadaraqui* (*Frontenac*) were then ſo weak, that the *French* were apprehenſive, the firſt News, they ſhould hear would be, that the *Engliſh* had taken thoſe Forts; eſpecially as they could not ſend a ſufficient Number of Men from *Canada* to defend them for want of Proviſions.

The Weakneſs of the latter of theſe Places was a moſt material Circumſtance; as the ſafeſt and beſt Way then for carrying Troops into the Enemy's Country was by *Oſwego*, acroſs

acroſs Lake *Ontario*, and down the River *Iroquois* (called by the *French* St. *Lawrence*) the Paſſage through which to *Montreal* being with the Stream, may be made in four Days, and affords good Places for encamping every Night free of Ambuſcades, with a ſafe Landing for the Men upon the Iſland of *Montreal*; from an Eminence on which, it is ſaid, it may be eaſily reduced in a few Hours; and there is beſides a ſmall Iſland within Cannon Shot of the City, which was at that time without any Fortifications, and with not above twenty Inhabitants upon it, and being taken would have greatly favoured the Attack of that Place; ſo that a Deſcent made on *Montreal* by 2000 Troops through this Route, at the ſame time that a like Body of them made another by *Chambly*, acroſs the Lake *Champlain*, muſt have abſolutely ſecured the Reduction of it.

According to the beſt Information, the Number of fighting Men in all *Canada*, including their regular Troops, did not then exceed 12,000; nor their *Indians*, which they call *Domiciliés*, or Reſident within *Canada*, 900: And what were eſteemed two very favourable Circumſtances were, that the Government of *Canada* was, at that time, ſo jealous of the *Indians* of the Six Nations, that the *French* Traders were ſtrictly forbid to employ any of them in carrying their Goods over the *Niagara* Carrying-place, for fear they ſhould take away their Powder, and then ſeize upon the Fort; and that upon the Reduction

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of Cape *Breton*, *Canada* was look'd upon by the Inhabitants to be in ſo deſperate a State, that it was thought, if it was made known there, that ſuch of them, as would not take up Arms againſt the *Engliſh*, ſhould be permitted upon the Reduction of the Country to remain there, and enjoy their Eſtates and Fortunes, and that ſuch, who did take up Arms, ſhould be oblig'd to leave *Canada*, and forfeit their Eſtates, not one Man in ten would appear in Arms.

The Governor therefore concerted Meaſures with the General and Mr. *Warren*, then lately made Admiral *Warren*, who both agreed with him in Sentiment, for forming an Attempt againſt it the next Year; and before his leaving *Louisbourg*, he and the Admiral propoſed the making one in a joint Letter to his Majeſty's Miniſters for their Conſideration.

November the 30th. The Governor having ſtayed at *Louisbourg* as long as the Seaſon of the Year would permit, and the Occaſions of his Majeſty's Service in his Government of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* would allow of his Abſence, and done every thing in his Power for the Security of the new Acquiſition, until his Majeſty's Troops, which were expected very early in the Spring, ſhould arrive to take poſſeſſion of it, embarked for *Boſton*; where he landed in the beginning of *December*.

The Spring following an Expedition by Land and Sea was formed by his Majeſty's Orders in *England* for the Reduction of *Cana-*

da, under the Command of Lieutenant General *St. Clair*, to be attempted with eight Battalions of regular Forces in conjunction with ſuch Troops, as could be raiſed in time for it in *North America*; together with a Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships under the Command of Rear Admiral *Warren*.

Upon this Occaſion the general Plan, which had been concerted in *England* for that Service, was tranſmitted to the Governor of the *Maſſachuſets* Bay, with his Majeſty's Orders to him, that upon the Arrival of Lieutenant General *St. Clair* at *Louisbourg* he ſhould proceed thither with ſuch Troops, as he was able to raiſe by that Time within his own Government, in order to conſult with the General and Admiral upon the moſt adviſeable Scheme for effecting the Conqueſt of *Canada*; and acquainting him that in caſe they and he ſhould think, that any other Plan might be more practicable, it would be left to them three to do as they ſhould think proper.

By the Plan ſent from *England* it was propoſed that the Troops to be raiſed in the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, *New Hampſhire*, *Connecticut*, and *Rhode Iſland* ſhould rendezvous at *Louisbourg* as ſoon as poſſible, and proceed up the River *St. Lawrence* with his Majeſty's Ships and the regular Troops to *Quebec*; and thoſe raiſed in the Colonies of *New York*, *Penſilvania*, *Maryland* and *Virginia* ſhould rendezvous at *Albany*, in order to proceed from thence acroſs the Country by Land to *Montreal*, as

ſoon

ſoon as they ſhould receive Intelligence that his Majeſty's Ships had entered the River *S. Lawrence*, and form the Siege of that Place.

As to the particular Number of Men to be raiſed in any of the Provinces, that was no limited by his Majeſty; but it was ſignified in his Inſtructions to his Governors, that his Majeſty hoped the Troops, which ſhould be raiſed in the ſeveral Colonies, would amount in the whole to at leaſt 5000.

Whilſt Preparations were making in *England* and the *Britiſh* Colonies in *North America* for proſecuting this Enterprize, the *French* were employed in fitting out an Armament from *Breſt* and the *Weſt Indies*, which, in Conjunction with a Body of Land Forces to be raiſed in *Canada*, was deſtined for the Reduction of *Nova Scotia*.

The Quota's of Troops raiſed in the ſeveral Colonies concerned in the Expedition againſt *Canada* were as follows; the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, which is ever the leading Province in all Enterprizes for his Majeſty's Service and the common Cauſe, ſet the firſt Example upon this important Occaſion; and notwithſtanding it had loſt near 2000 of its fighting Men in the Service of the preceding Year, granted a Bounty for encouraging the inliſting of 3500, with ſuch a Sum as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the Expence of Tranſports and Proviſions for them: A Bounty was given by the Province of *New York* for enliſting 1600; by the Colony of *Connecticut* for 1000; by

New Hampſhire for 500; by *Rhode Iſland* for 300; by the *New Jerſies* for 500; by *Maryland* for 300; by *Virginia* for 100; and 400 Men were raiſed in *Penſilvania*; amounting in the whole to 8200, excluſive of the four Independent Companies of *New York*, whoſe Complement is 100 Men each.

The Colony Troops were raiſed with great Diſpatch; and, though the Packets containing his Majeſty's Orders for the ſeveral Governors did not arrive at *Boſton* till the latter End of *May*, yet the *Maſſachuſets* Forces with their Tranſports were got ready to proceed to *Louiſbourg* by the Middle of *July*.

The moſt commodious Route for the March of Troops with Artillery from *Albany* to *Montreal* being over the Lake *Iroquois*, commonly called Lake *Champlain*, by Fort *St. Frederick* upon *Pointe de Cheveux*, called by the *Engliſh Crown Point*; the Reduction of that Fort was thought very material; though it ſhould not prove any great Obſtruction to a large Body of Forces in paſſing by it, yet it was not adviſeable to leave it on their Backs; eſpecially as the Paſſage acroſs the Lake ought to be open for a Communication of Intelligence between the Colonies and Army, as alſo for the Tranſportation of Proviſions, Stores, and even Reinforcements, which it might be neceſſary to ſend after it in Support of the Siege of *Montreal*.

Excluſive of this, there were two other very ſtrong Reaſons for making this Attempt; the

the Weſtern Frontiers of *New England* and the Province of *New York* as far as the City of *Albany*, had experienced moſt miſchievous Effects from this Fort; it ſerved the *French* as a Place of Rendezvous to fit out Parties from, both of *Canadeans* and *Indians* to make Incurſions and Depredations upon the adjacent Territories of the *Engliſh*, which they had greatly galled even during that War, burning and deſtroying the whole Village of *Sarahtoga*, and Fort *Maſſachuſets* itſelf; and was likewiſe a Place of Safety for them, upon their Retreat from any of theſe Enterprizes: It was beſides abſolutely neceſſary to employ as ſoon as poſſible the *Indians* of the Six Nations, who were much depended upon for their Aſſiſtance in this Attempt; as the *Engliſh* had loſt their good Opinion and Reſpect, together with their former Attachment to their Intereſt in nothing more than ſuffering the *French* to build this Fort, ſo nothing could more retrieve their Influence over them, and all the *Indians* dependent upon them, than the Reduction of it: The Acquiſition therefore of this Fort, in caſe even of the other Parts of the Expedition's being dropped or attended with Misfortune in the Proſecution of it, would in a great meaſure, of itſelf, recompenſe the Northern Colonies for their Expence in it.

As therefore the Seaſon of the Year was advancing, the Armament from *England* not arrived at *Louisbourg*, and an Attempt for the Reduction

Reduction of this Fort before the *Engliſh* Fleet had entered the River *St. Lawrence* was not a material Variation from the general Plan formed in *England*, and would redeem Time for carrying on the Siege of *Montreal*, the Governor of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* propoſed to Admiral *Warren*, who was joined with him and General *St. Clair* to ſettle the Plan of Operations for the general Expedition, to employ in preſent a ſufficient Part of the Colony Troops, as well thoſe of *New England* as of the Southern Provinces, in an Attempt againſt the Fort at *Crown Point*; which was accordingly agreed upon, and the neceſſary Diſpoſitions concerted between them, and the Governor of *New York*, who then had the chief Command of the Southern Troops, and was hearty for the Enterprize.

In *Auguſt* 1746 Mr. *De Ramſay* entered *Minas* with a Body of 1700 *Canadeans* and *Indians* with Deſign, as was then apprehended, to work upon the *Acadians* to take up Arms againſt the *Engliſh*, and in caſe he could not effect it that Year, to winter there, and prepare them for it againſt the enſuing Spring: But it afterwards appeared, that his principal View was to be ready to join in an Attack upon the Fort at *Annapolis Royal*, as ſoon as the Armament fitted out from *Breſt* the ſame Year under the Command of Duke *D' Anville* for the Reduction of *Nova Scotia* ſhould arrive in the Bay of *Funda*; in expectation of which he proceeded to the Diſtrict of

Annapolis

Annapolis River, and encamped within one Mile and an half of the Fort.

The *Maſſachuſets* Governor, upon receiving Intelligence from Mr. *Maſcarene* of Mr. *De Ramſay*'s Motions, determined to ſend 1500 of the *Maſſachuſets* Troops to *Annapolis Royal*, to prevent the Execution of his Deſigns, the Remainder of them being then deſtined to make an Attempt againſt the *French* Fort at *Crown Point*, in Conjunction with thoſe of *New York* and the Southern Governments; and ordered 600 of them to be forthwith embarked; Admiral *Warren*, who was then at *Boſton*, ordered at the ſame time his Majeſty's Ship *Cheſter* from thence to reinforce the Ships in *Annapolis* Harbour: The *Cheſter* arrived in a few Days at *Annapolis*, and 400 of the *New England* Forces ſoon after.

About the ſame time Mr. *Conflans* arrived before *Chebucto* (now *Halifax*) with four capital Ships from Cape *Francois* under Orders to join Duke *D'Anville*; but after cruizing there ſome Days without hearing any thing of his Squadron, and imagining that the Deſtination of it was altered, quitted the Coaſt: Notice of the Appearance of theſe Ships was ſoon brought to *Boſton* by Fiſhermen off thoſe Banks; but as they diſappeared ſo ſoon, the Alarm, they occaſion'd, laſted not long.

Some Days after the Departure of Mr. *Conflans*, Duke *D'Anville* arrived in *Chebucto* Harbour with a few Ships, after a tempeſtuous

Paſſage

Paſſage, which had diſperſed his Squadron at Sea; and not finding any of the reſt there was ſo much affected with that and other Diſaſters of his Voyage, that he deſtroyed himſelf in two or three Days, and was buried privately upon a ſmall Iſland in the Harbour: The Remainder of the *French* Ships except one or two, which were loſt upon their Paſſage, arrived by degrees at *Chebucto*, a few Days after, in a ſhattered Condition, with the Men in a very ſickly State; the Number of theſe Ships was ſo large, and their Force ſo great, that they had the Appearance of a very formidable Armament, and gave a general Alarm along the whole Coaſt as far Weſtward as *New York*: A Viſit being daily expected from them at *Boſton*, the Governor, within three Days, drew 8 or 10,000 of the Militia of the Province thither to oppoſe the landing of Troops; and the Aſſembly, upon this Occaſion, gave him an unlimited Power to ſtrengthen the Works at *Caſtle William*, and do whatever he ſhould think neceſſary for the immediate Defence of the Harbour; in conſequence of which, Preparations were made for blocking up the Entrance of the Channel there, and to give the Ships a proper Reception in their Approach to the Town; and within a very few Weeks ſuch additional Works were made to *Caſtle William*, as have rendered it, for its Extent, the moſt conſiderable Fortreſs by Sea in his Majeſty's *American* Dominions.

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An *Engliſh* Admiral then lay in *Louisbourg* Harbour with ſeven of his Majeſty's Ships of the Line well appointed and ſtrongly mann'd; and at the ſame time the Arrival of Admiral *Leſtock* with the *Engliſh* Squadron and Armament from *England*, deſtined to be employed up the River *St. Lawrence* in the Expedition of *Canada*, was daily expected on the Coaſt; the *Maſſachuſets* Governor therefore, to give the former of theſe Admirals the beſt Intelligence, that could be obtained of the Strength of the *French* Squadron, ſent a ſmall Schooner to reconnoitre it in *Chebucto* Harbour, and carry him a diſtinct Account of it; which was executed; and from the Condition, in which it was found, it was thought by the beſt Judges, that the Ships, which the *Engliſh* Admiral had with him at *Louisbourg* were of ſufficient Force to have attacked and deſtroyed the *French* Ships in *Chebucto*; which he was much preſſed to attempt by a Sea Commander of great Diſtinction, then Governor of Cape *Breton*; and at the ſame time the *Maſſachuſets* Governor ſent three ſmall Veſſels to cruize on ſeveral Parts of the Coaſt, in order to fall in with Admiral *Leſtock*'s Squadron, which was ſtill expected in *America*, to give him Information of the *French* Ships, and pilot him into *Chebucto*; which muſt have ſecured the utter Deſtruction of the *French* Squadron.

During the Conſternation, which the Appearance of the *Breſt* Squadron at firſt occa-

ſioned, *Nova Scotia*, and the Garriſon of *Annapolis Royal*, with the Ships in the Harbour were in the general Opinion given up for loſt; whereupon the *Maſſachuſets* Governor deſiſted from ſending more Troops to *Annapolis*; but it afterwards appeared, that the Detachment of Troops ſent laſt from *Boſton*, and the *Cheſter* eventually proved the Preſervation of the Garriſon and Province; for ſoon after their Arrival at *Annapolis*, Mr. *De Ramſay* who had then advanced within leſs than a Mile and half of the Garriſon, and encamped in open View of it, apprehending the Number of Troops to be double what they were, and that another large Imbarkation of them, with a greater Sea Force was ſoon to follow, and deſpairing of the Arrival of the *French* Armament that Year, (the time by which it was expected upon the Coaſt being long elapſed) ſuddenly decamped, ſent 1200 of his Troops back to *Canada*, and retired with the Remainder to *Minas*; from whence he communicated the falſe Alarm, he had taken at *Annapolis Royal* to Mr. *La Jonquiere*, who ſucceeded Duke *D'Anville* in his Command at *Chebucto*; which, as it afterwards appeared from the Examination of ſeveral intelligent Merchants and others, who had been carried Priſoners into *Chebucto* by *French* Cruizers, (whilſt the Armament lay there) and were converſant with the *French* Officers, prevented Mr. *Jonquiere* from ſending ſome light Frigates up the Bay of *Funda* with Troops, Ordnance

Stores

Stores and Artillery; as indeed it cannot be reaſonably doubted that he would have done, had not the Reinforcement been ſent to *Annapolis*, and Mr. *De Ramſay* had remained with his Party before the Garriſon; in which Caſe, he muſt have infallibly made himſelf Maſter of *Nova Scotia*.

In the Beginning of *November* Mr. *La Jonquiere*, after having ſpent about eight Weeks in *Chebucto* Harbour in recovering his Men from their ſickly State, and repairing his Ships, ſome of which he burnt in the Harbour, partly for want of Men to navigate them without too much weakening his other Ships, and partly for want of the Means of repairing them, ſailed out of the Harbour, ſteering his Courſe for the Bay of *Funda*; but upon his making Cape *Sable*, with an Appearance of a Deſign to ſend at leaſt ſome of his Ships up the Bay to look in at *Annapolis*, an exceſſive hard Gale drove him off the Coaſt, and diſperſed his Ships: However, a few Days after, two of them returned, one of which, a 50 Gun Ship, went up the Bay, expecting (as was ſuppoſed) to find the reſt there, as high as the Narrows, but being diſcovered from the Fort, and thereupon chaced by the *Cheſter*, ſhe eſcaped out of the Bay.

Thus ended this Expedition of the moſt formidable Armament, that was ever fitted out againſt the Coaſt of *North America*, and which, including the four capital Ships Mr. *Conflans* brought from Cape *Francois*, was

computed to conſiſt of near half the Naval Force of *France*: To compleat their Series of Cataſtrophes, ſome of them were loſt, and others taken in their Return Home; and another miſchievous Effect of their Expedition was, that Mr. *La Jonquiere*, by his Preſents of the Cloaths of the Seamen and Soldiers, who died on board his Ships of a contagious Diſtemper, to the Cape *Sable Indians* in the *French* Intereſt, communicated the Infection, and deſtroy'd near two-thirds of them.

In the mean time Diſpoſitions went on for preparing the Attempt againſt *Crown Point*, in forwarding which at *Albany*, ſupplying Neceſſaries for the Southern Troops, and engaging the *Indians* of the Six Nations in it, the * Governor of *New York* had many Difficulties to ſtruggle with, which he ſurmounted; and Preparations had proceeded ſo far, that Battoes were provided for the Tranſportation of the Men, Artillery, and Stores acroſs Lake *Champlain*; Ordnance Stores and Proviſions were ſent from *Boſton*, and a Train of Artillery from *New York* to the Fort at *Saratoga*; and by the Middle of *October* 1500 of the *Maſſachuſets* Troops were upon their March from *Albany* to join thoſe of the Southern Governments.

However, the general Alarm which had been occaſioned by the Appearance of the *French* Armament upon the Coaſt of *Nova Scotia* had ſuſpended the Proſecution of the

* Governor *Clinton*.

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intended Attempt till the Seaſon of the Year was ſo far advanced, that one or more of the Colonies concerned in it judged it too late to proceed, and refuſed to join with the Province of the *Maſſachuſets Bay*; and a Diſunion of Councils in this Point finally prevented its being carried into Execution.

Mr. *De Ramſay* ſtill remained in *Nova Scotia*, with about 500 *Canadians* and *Indians*, Part in *Chicgnecto* and Part at *Minas*; the Inhabitants of the former of theſe Diſtricts were openly devoted to the *French* Intereſt, thoſe of *Minas* and *Annapolis River* at that time wavering; his Scheme was to winter in the Province, and gain over the whole Body of *Acadians* to take up Arms, and join with him in an Attempt upon the Fort at *Annapolis Royal* early in the Spring: To compaſs this he ſummon'd the Deputies of all the Diſtricts to attend him; told them he had Intelligence that the *Governor* of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* was ſending a large Body of Troops from *New England* to force them off their Poſſeſſions, and exhorted them to join him, and ſtand upon their Defence; and he had proceeded ſo far with them as to induce them to promiſe to make Report of what he had propoſed to them, to their reſpective Principals, and let him know their Reſolutions by a limited time.

There appeared Danger in this Scheme; had Mr. *De Ramſay* been ſuffer'd to go on unmoleſted in his Practices upon the Inhabitants during the whole Winter, what Effects he might

might have wrought on ſome of them by his Perſuaſions, upon others by Menaces, was uncertain; but if he had ſucceeded, it muſt have hazarded the Loſs of the whole Province by the enſuing Spring: To counteract therefore Mr. *De Ramſay* and fruſtrate his Deſigns, the *Maſſachuſets Governor* determined, though the Winter was then far advanced, to attempt driving him out of *Minas*, as ſoon as a freſh Recruit of Troops could be ſent to *Annapolis Royal*.

In the mean time, to prevent him from making any Progreſs in gaining over the Inhabitants, he immediately tranſmitted from *Boſton* to Governor *Maſcarene* a Number of printed Copies of a Declaration tranſlated into *French*, and ſigned by himſelf, to be diſperſed throughout the Diſtricts of *Minas* and *Annapolis River*; wherein he aſſured the Deputies and Inhabitants, " that ſuch of them " as ſhould remain firm in their Allegiance to " his Majeſty ſhould be protected in the Poſ- " ſeſſion of their Lands and juſt Rights, ac- " cording to the Treaty of *Utrecht*; letting " them know at the ſame time, that he ſhould " very ſoon ſend a ſufficient Force to *Minas* to " remove Mr. *De Ramſay* and his Party from " thence, and protect them from the Inſults " of the *French* and their *Indians*; and in parti- " cular aſſuring them, that the King's Soldiers " ſhould not live upon free Quarter, nor be " ſuffered to commit Acts of Violence or Ma- " roding among them, but that they ſhould " be

" be fully ſatisfied for all the Proviſions and " other Neceſſaries, which they ſhould ſup- " ply the Troops with during their being " quarter'd among them."

Theſe Declarations arrived very ſeaſonably at *Annapolis*; Mr. *Maſcarene* found means to diſperſe them among the Deputies and Inhabitants before the Day, by which they were required to give Mr. *De Ramſay* their Anſwer, and they had the Effect to make them unanimous in declaring to the *French* Commander their Reſolution to truſt to the Aſſurances given them by the *Governor of the Maſſachuſets Bay*, of being protected in the Enjoyment of their Eſtates by the King of *Great Britain*, and abſolutely refuſing to take up Arms and join with the *Canadians:* And they immediately ſignified the ſame to Mr. *Maſcarene*, with their ſeveral Addreſſes to Mr. *Shirley*, thanking him for the Protection he had promiſed them, and declaring their Reſolutions to be loyal Subjects to the King.

In the latter End of *November* and Beginning of *December*, the Troops deſtined for *Minas* embark'd at *Boſton* for *Annapolis Royal*; one of the Tranſports with the greateſt Part of the Soldiers on board was loſt in its Paſſage upon the Rocks near *Monts Deſerts*, the Remainder arrived ſafe; and in a few Days, being ſtrengthened with a Party from the Garriſon, embark'd for *Minas*, and entered *Grand Pré*, the chief Town in that Diſtrict, about the latter End of *December*.

The

The *French* Commander upon having Intelligence of their Arrival at *Annapolis*, and their Embarkation for *Minas*, had quitted the Diſtrict and retired with his Party to *Schiegnecto*, the extreme Part of the Peninſula: The Seaſon being extremely ſevere hindered the *New England* Men from immediately following him thither, as the commanding Officer had Orders to do; ſo that they determined to wait till the Rigour of it was abated.

On the laſt Day of *January* the *French* Commander having gained Intelligence of their being diſtributed in Quarters at a great Diſtance from each other, and being ſecretly encouraged with the Promiſe of Aſſiſtance from ſome of the Inhabitants, made a March, which was thought impracticable in that Seaſon of the Year, through the Woods with a Party of *Canadians* and *Indians*; and taking the Advantage of a violent Snow Storm, which had laſted 36 Hours, entered the Town immediately after, at Midnight, and ſurrounded moſt of them in their Quarters; the greateſt Part of whom were killed, wounded or taken Priſoners: In the mean time, thoſe Parties which were not ſurrounded, marched out and forced their Way through the Enemy to the Guard-Houſe, being a large defenſible Stone Building, ſituated in the middle of the Town; and ſome others, which had been ſurrounded, beat off the Party which attacked them and recovered it: The next Morning two Companies marched out of the Guard-Houſe to

make

make an Attempt upon the Enemy's head Quarters, but having been ſurprized without their Snow Shoes, and finding in the March, that the Snow was too much drifted for them to reach the Enemy, after having made two Diſcharges of Muſquetry upon them, they were obliged to deſiſt from their Attempt: The Day following Mr. *La Corne*, who then commanded the *French* and *Indians*, propoſed a Parley, which was agreed to; and afterwards that each ſhould bury their Dead; Terms of Capitulation were then offered to the *New England* Men; the Subſtance of which was, that upon ſurrendering the Fort, they ſhould have leave to march out with Drums beating and Colours flying, and other uſual Honours of War; a ſufficient Quantity of Ammunition and Proviſions allowed to ſerve them in their March back to *Annapolis*; and Neceſſaries for carrying off their Sick and Wounded; the *New England* Troops to quit *Minas*, and not to take up Arms in any Part of *Nova Scotia* during the Term of one Year.

Upon this a Council of War was held, and the Garriſon ſubmitted to the Terms propoſed.

The killed, wounded and Priſoners taken in this Action by the *French* amounted to about 160, and the Number of *Canadians* and *Indians* killed and wounded by the *New England* Men was computed at between 50 and 60.

The *New England* Men being thus obliged to retire, Mr. *La Corne* quitted *Minas* in a few Days, leaving the Command of a ſmall Party there with an inferior Officer.

Upon gaining this Advantage Mr. *De Ramſay* ſent Declarations to the *French* Inhabitants in the Name of the *Governor of Canada*, which were publickly poſted up, requiring them to take up Arms, whenever they ſhould be call'd upon by him, againſt the *Engliſh*, on pain of Death, having their Houſes burnt, and their Eſtates confiſcated; and with theſe he publiſh'd the Biſhop of *Quebec*'s Declaration, pronouncing them abſolv'd from their former Oaths of Fidelity to the King of *Great Britain*: On the other hand the *Governor of the Maſſachuſets Bay*, to cut off all Pretenſions of a Right of Conqueſt to the Diſtrict of *Minas*, which might be grounded on the Capitulation at *Grand Pré*, recommended it to Lieutenant Governor *Maſcarene* to ſend there what Troops he could ſpare out of the Garriſon, who were not reſtrained by the late Capitulation from bearing Arms, to repoſſeſs themſelves of the Diſtrict of *Minas*, and bring as many of the *French* Deputies as they could to *Annapolis Royal* to renew their Oaths of Fidelity to his Majeſty.

Accordingly, ſoon after, Mr. *Maſcarene* ſent out a Party of Rangers with orders to land at *Grand Pré*; purſuant to which the commanding Officer landed there and ſurprized ſome of

of the Inhabitants, who informed him that the *Canadians* apprehending that another Deſcent might be made upon them from *Annapolis* by a freſh Party of Troops, and not thinking themſelves ſafe at *Minas*, had abandon'd it and marched back to *Schiegnecto*; which the Officer upon entering the Body of the Town found true; and after taking Poſſeſſion of the Diſtrict by erecting the *Engliſh* Standard upon the Guard-Houſe, &c. and ſeizing ſuch of the Deputies and Inhabitants, as he thought moſt proper to carry to *Annapolis Royal*, returned thither.

Soon after this, Mr. *De Ramſay* evacuated the Province of all his Troops, and returned with them to *Canada*; and the Province, being thus cleared of the *Canadians*, remained quiet from any Attempts of the *French*, during the Remainder of the War.

In *September* 1747, the *Governor of the Maſſachuſets Bay* received his Majeſty's Orders, ſignifying his royal Approbation of the Preparations, he had made for the intended Expedition againſt *Canada*, and directing him in Conjunction with *Admiral Knowles*, then Governor of Cape *Breton*, to diſband the *American* Troops rais'd for that Service, retaining ſuch a Number of them as they ſhould judge neceſſary for the Protection of *Nova Scotia*; to collect and liquidate the Accounts of the Expence incurred by the ſeveral Governments

on account of the Expedition, and tranſmit them to be laid before his Majeſty,

Purſuant to the former Part of theſe Orders Mr. *Knowles* and *he* retained 6 Companies of 70 Men each for the Defence of *Nova Scotia*, and it appearing neceſſary for the Protection of the Province that ſome Ship of War ſhould be ſtationed at *Annapolis Royal*, the *Governor of the Maſſachuſets Bay* ſent the *Maſſachuſets* Frigate, the Province Guard-Ship of 20 Carriage Guns upon that Service.

Upon this Occaſion Mr. *Maſcarene*, whoſe ſingular Prudence and Vigilance omitted no Opportunity of reminding the *Acadians* of their Duty, and exhorting them to conſult their own Intereſt by their Fidelity to the King's Government, wrote the following Letter to the Deputies of the three Diſtricts.

" Meſſieurs,

" Though I am much preſſed and embar-
" raſſed with Buſineſs, I will not however let
" this Opportunity ſlip without writing to you,
" leſt ſome ill intention'd Perſons ſhould have
" have room to ſpread falſe Reports among
" you, which might occaſion you ſome
" Trouble

" Mr. *Shirley* has received from Court ex-
" preſs Orders to watch over the Safety of this
" Province, and to employ all the Means and
" all the Forces that his Excellency ſhall judge
" neceſſary,

" neceſſary, but always with the Diſpoſitions " conformable to the Aſſurances the Inhabi- " tants have received, that whilſt they ſhall " behave themſelves as good Subjects to his " *Britannick* Majeſty (as they are bound to it " by their Oath) they ſhall be treated as his " Majeſty's own natural Subjects; in con- " ſequence of theſe Orders there is arrived " here a 20 Gun Ship, and we expect another " ſoon with Tranſports and Troops beſides " thoſe already arrived; this is what I thought, " I ought to let you know, and to join my " Exhortations that you may behave in ſuch " a manner as is convenient for your reaping " the Benefit of the good Diſpoſitions, his " Majeſty has towards you, to which you will " always find me ready to contribute as much " as is in my power, and you will give me " Occaſion by your good deportment to do."

" I am, &c."

The *Maſſachuſets Governor* had had the Care of the Government of *Nova Scotia* in a great meaſure committed to him during the War; and his Majeſty having approved of his Proceedings for preſerving the *Acadians* in their Allegiance, and preventing them from revolting to the *French*, was pleaſed to ratify all the Promiſes and Declarations Mr. *Shirley* had made them, and authorize him to iſſue a Declaration in *his* Name to them, to aſſure them of

of *his* Performance of what he had promiſed them, and to add ſuch other Matters therein as Mr. *Shirley* ſhould think moſt conducive to his Majeſty's Service in that Province.

In the ſame Year the *Maſſachuſets Governor* received his Majeſty's Orders to form a Plan of Civil Government for the Province of *Nova Scotia*, and to draw up ſuch a Scheme for fortifying it, as he judg'd was requiſite for putting it into a State of Security; and to tranſmit them to the Secretary of State's Office to be laid before his Majeſty.

The Inhabitants of *Schiegnecto* had ever ſince the Treaty of *Utrecht* diſtinguiſhed themſelves above thoſe of the other two Diſtricts of *Nova Scotia*, by a refractory Behaviour towards his Majeſty's Government; in which they were encouraged by their remote Diſtance from *Annapolis Royal*, and conſtant Intercourſe with the *French* of *Canada*, and were now become juſtly ſuſpected and dangerous to the Safety of it.

The *Maſſachuſets Governor* therefore, in his Plan for fortifying the Province propoſed that this Diſtrict, which lay moſt expoſed to the ſudden Attacks of the *French*, and the furtheſt from being ſuccour'd in caſe of an Aſſault, ſhould be ſecured as ſoon as might be, by a ſtrong Fortreſs upon the Iſthmus, capable of holding a large Garriſon, to be built upon the Spot, where the *French* afterwards built *Beau Sejour*; and the whole Iſthmus between the Baſin

Baſin of *Schiegnecto* and Bay *Verte* ſecured with a Line of Block-Houſes placed at convenient Diſtances; and that the Inhabitants of the Diſtrict ſhould be removed either to ſome Parts of the Province more under the Inſpection and Check of his Majeſty's Governor at *Annapolis Royal*; or into ſome other of his Majeſty's Colonies, where they ſhould have equivalent Lands given them; and that Proteſtant Settlers, whoſe Fidelity and Attachment to his Majeſty's Government might be depended on, ſhould be tranſplanted to *Schiegnecto* in their Room; which was not diſapprov'd of.

It will be difficult to ſtrike the Line between the Ratification of the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, in which it was ſtipulated, that the controverted Limits of this Province ſhould be determined by Commiſſaries appointed on the Part of *Great Britain* and *France*, and the *French*'s ſeizing ſeveral Parts of the Country which were in diſpute.

No ſooner was the Treaty concluded, than they ſent a Party into St. *John*'s River to take Poſſeſſion of it; and their Incroachments grew ſo faſt in every Part of the Peninſula, that after the narrow Eſcapes and ſignal Deliverances, it had during the War, if Providence had not again interpoſed in its Favour, by raiſing up a * *Britiſh* Miniſter for the immediate Settlement and Protection of it; to whoſe peculiar Talents, Vigilance and Spirit for effecting the great Service, the Nation owes its preſent

* The Earl of *Halifax*.

Poſſeſſion

Poſſeſſion of *Nova Scotia*, the whole Province would have been ſwallowed up and loſt in *French* Incroachments, even during the ſhort Interval of the late Peace.

If any thing, after obſerving theſe Incroachments, which followed ſo cloſe upon the Treaty, can be wanting, to ſhew that *France*, at the Time of making the Peace, had determined to take the firſt favourable Opportunity of violently ſeizing upon the Province; and was preparing every Meaſure, which could pave the Way for it; the Behaviour of the Governor of *Canada*, and Biſhop of *Quebec* at this Juncture muſt put it out of queſtion.

As their Proceedings will be beſt diſcloſed by the Inſertion of the *Governor of the Maſſachuſets Bay's* Letter, upon that occaſion to the * Governor of *Canada*, Copies of which got abroad at the time of its being ſent, I ſhall here inſert it.

Boſton, May 9, 1749.

Sir,

" Two Days ago I received from Mr. *Maſ-*
" *carene* a Copy of your Letter to him, dated
" at *Quebec* the 15th of *January*; wherein
" (among other Demands) you call upon him
" to acquaint you, whether he intends to com-
" prehend the *Abenaqui Indians* in the Peace,
" without requiring any kind of Submiſſion

* Marquis la Galliſſioniere.

" from

" from them; and desire that in such case he " would engage me to let them resettle in " their Village, and their Missionaries remain " there with them unmolested, as they did be- " fore the War; observing to him that those " *Indians* entered into the War, only as your " Allies, and therefore when the War was " finished with you, it ought to be so with " regard to them; and you proceed to say, Sir, " that if they thought otherwise in *New Eng-* " *land*, you shall be obliged to assist those *In-* " *dians*, intimating that it is of Importance to " the Safety and Tranquillity of the Frontiers " of the *Massachusets Bay*, that you should " have a speedy and positive Answer, and that " you shall not be surprized, if the *Indians* " should proceed to Acts of Violence.

" To this, Sir, which is the fourth Demand " in your Letter, Mr. *Mascerene* having re- " ferred you to me upon it, I shall comply " with your Request in giving as speedy and " positive an Answer as may be.

" The River of St. *John*'s, upon which that " Part of the *Indians*, to which you chiefly " refer, is seated, has been ever deemed " to be situated within the Heart of *No-* " *va Scotia*, and consequently that Tribe of " *Indians*, together with the *French* Inha- " bitants upon the same River, are within his " Majesty's Territories; and accordingly, Sir,

" the latter have acknowledged themſelves " ever ſince the Treaty of *Utrecht*, to be the " Subjects of the Crown of *Great Britain* by " taking the Oaths of Fidelity and Allegiance " to it; and have had the Protection of his " Majeſty's Government in common with his " other Subjects in that Province: this being " the caſe, theſe *Indians* when the Advice of " a Rupture between his Majeſty and the King " your Maſter was hourly expected, under the " Pretext of ſending a Deputation to Mr. *Maſ-* " *carene*, to deſire they might remain in Peace " and Amity with the *Engliſh*, notwithſtand- " ing War ſhould happen between the two " Crowns, gained Admiſſion into *Annapolis* " *Royal* for ſome of their Tribe, who were in " reality (as it afterwards proved) Spies; and " having obtained Mr. *Maſcarene*'s Agreement " to what they pretended to propoſe in behalf " of their Tribe, and being honourably treat- " ed and diſmiſſed by him, returned in three " Weeks after, among others of their Tribe " with the Miſſionary *De Loutre* at their Head, " ſurprized and killed as many of the *Engliſh* " at *Annapolis Royal*, as they caught without " the Fort, deſtroyed their Cattle, burnt their " Houſes, and continued Acts of Hoſtility " againſt the Garriſon, till the arrival of the " firſt Party of Succours which I ſent it from " *New England*; ſuch was the Entrance of " theſe *Indians*, Sir, into the War with us, " and their *Alliance* with you.

" For

" For this perfidious Behaviour I cauſed " War to be declared in his Majeſty's Name " againſt them at *Boſton* in *November* 1744, " and, ſo far as it depends upon me, they " ſhall not be admitted to Terms of Peace " till they have made a proper Submiſ- " ſion for their Treachery, unleſs they ſhould " be already comprehended in the Definitive " Treaty of Peace and Friendſhip lately con- " cluded at *Aix la Chapelle*, which I ſhall on " my part ſtrictly obſerve in every Point.

" As to what you have thought fit to de- " clare, Sir, in your Letter concerning your " Intentions to ſupport the *Indians* in Acts of " Hoſtility againſt us, unleſs we give them " Peace upon the Terms there preſcribed by " you, and the Danger which the Frontiers of " the *Maſſachuſets Bay* in particular may be " in, unleſs you have a ſpeedy and poſitive " Anſwer upon this head; what I have to ſay " in anſwer is, that I ſhall be ſorry for a new " Rupture between us, and am very deſirous to " have perfect Tranquillity reſtored to the " Province under my Government; but if the " latter is not to be the Caſe, and you think " fit to make yourſelf a Party in an *Indian* " War againſt us; I doubt not but his Majeſty's " Subjects upon this Continent will be able to " make juſt Repriſals upon *Canada*, when it " ſhall be his Majeſty's Pleaſure to have them " do it.

" I can't avoid expreſſing great Surprize at
" the other Parts of your Letter, whereby you
" take upon you to call Mr. *Maſcarene* to ac-
" count for expelling the Miſſionary from *Mi-*
" *nas*, for being guilty of ſuch treaſonable
" Practices within his Majeſty's Government,
" as merited a much ſeverer Puniſhment than
" that of Expulſion from the Province.

" The Right, you claim of ſending Miſſio-
" naries from *France* to reſide among his Ma-
" jeſty's Subjects of *Nova Scotia* as their Prieſts,
" and, in conſequence of that your forbidding
" his Majeſty's Governor to make any Alte-
" ration in the State of Religion and its Mini-
" ſters there is ſtill more extraordinary ; and I
" muſt not omit upon this Occaſion to remark
" to you, that I think the Letter which the
" Biſhop of *Quebec* lately wrote to Mr. *Maſca-*
" *rene* concerning his intended Viſitation of
" his Majeſty's Subjects in that Government,
" in ſuch terms, as ſhew'd, he looks upon
" them as part of his Cure of Souls, and
" within his Juriſdiction, was likewiſe an
" extraordinary Attempt, and can't be admited.

" Your interfering in his Majeſty's Puniſh-
" ment of his Subjects in *Nova Scotia* inflict-
" ed for rebellious and treaſonable Practices
" againſt his Crown, and his requiring others
" of them to renew their Oaths of Fidelity ;
" and in one Word, your treating the Subjects

" of

" of the Crown of *Great Britain* in that Pro-
" vince, as if you look'd upon them as Subjects
" of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and being under
" his Allegiance, is, if poſſible, ſtill more ſur-
" prizing; and as theſe Attempts are manifeſt
" Invaſions of the undoubted Right, which
" every Prince has over his Subjects, I can't
" but look upon them as Inſults upon his
" Majeſty's Government, which require no
" further Anſwer.

" After theſe Attempts, Sir, upon his Ma-
" jeſty's Right of Government over his Sub-
" jects in *Nova Scotia*, I am leſs ſurprized at
" your Encroachments upon the Limits of his
" Province, which you are pleaſed to call in
" your Letter Dependencies of the Govern-
" ment of *Canada*.

" As to your Demand for the Releaſe of the
" two *Indians* carry'd off by Captain *Gorham*,
" I can't allow, Sir, that you have a Right to
" interpoſe in that Affair, and Mr. *Gorham*
" has ſatisfy'd me that he committed no Breach
" of publick Faith in doing it.

" I can't conclude without making uſe of
" this Opportunity to acquaint you, that we
" look on Fort *St. Frederick* at *Crown Point*,
" as an Encroachment on his Majeſty's Terri-
" tories; and in caſe you proceed to ſettle the
" Country round it, I ſhall eſteem thoſe Set-

" tlements

" tlements ſo too, unleſs that Tract has been
" ceded to you by the late definitive Treaty at
" *Aix la Chapelle.*

" I am ſorry, Sir, that the firſt Fruits of
" the Peace on your Part have ſo unpromiſing
" an Aſpect; and beg you will be perſuaded
" that nothing ſhall be wanting in me to pre-
" ſerve the good underſtanding, which ought
" to ſubſiſt between us in time of Peace; hav-
" ing the Honour to be with the moſt perfect
" Regard,

" *Sir,*

" *Your moſt humble, and*

" *Moſt obedient Servant.*"

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